

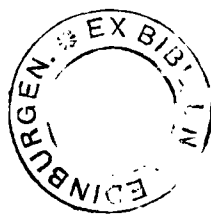
J O H N G L A S

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FOREWORD

The following study is an attempt to delineate the life and work of John Glas (1695-1773), and to trace the origins, early development, and effects of the religious movement which he initiated. As far as is known to the present writer, no extended treatment of Glas's career, teaching, and movement, has hitherto been offered. The fullest account of Glas consists of a series of six articles which first appeared in "The Theological Repository" (Liverpool), N.S., Vol. III (1807), the writer of which was probably William Jones, the editor of that periodical. With the exception of the last article, this material was substantially reproduced in the Memoirs prefixed respectively to an edition (1813) of Glas's "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs", and to the second edition (1828) of his "The Rise and Progress of the Controversy about the National Covenants". In recent times interesting outlines have been contributed to the "Dictionary of National Biography" by the Rev. Alexander Gordon, and to the "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics" and the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" (11th edition) by the Rev. Dugald Macfadyen, but these are necessarily limited in their scope.

One reason why more attention has not been given to the Glasite movement is that the Glasites, acting on their principle of avoiding publicity, have maintained an attitude of reserve respecting their own history. The present writer, however, has gratefully to acknowledge much valuable help and personal kind-

ness from Elders, members, and adherents of the Glasite connection. He has visited the four remaining Glasite or Sandemanian churches in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London, as well as the homes of Glasite friends in these cities, Dundee, Perth, and elsewhere. Many manuscripts and letters, including several in the hand-writing of Glas, Sandeman, and other leaders in Britain and America, have been carefully preserved. These have been readily placed at the writer's service and have provided invaluable material for a reconsideration of the personality and influence of John Glas.

The method of treatment adopted is as follows:-

Part I. covers the period of Glas's life and labours, with special attention to the origin of the controversy in which he was involved; the process against Glas in the Church Courts, resulting in his deposition from the ministry of the Church of Scotland; and his later ministry among the churches which arose from his teaching and witness. An attempt is also made to summarise the character of Glas as preacher, scholar, and man.

Part II. deals with the distinctive teaching of Glas in relation to Christian Salvation, the Nature and Constitution of the Church, and to Christian Practice.

Part III. seeks to show the causes and effects of Glas's movement in its extension beyond Scotland, particularly in England, Wales, and America.

Part IV. contains a brief evaluation of the Glasite movement, indicating its relation to the times, its influence on contemporary thought, its theological limitations, and the reasons of its decline.

The Appendix contains a review of the influence of Glas's teaching and movement upon other religious bodies which, though having no direct connection with his Communion, absorbed various elements of his theology and preserved certain features of the Glasite church order.

The churches which sprang directly from Glas's movement are sometimes denominated "Glasite" and at other times "Sandemanian". By some writers these names have been assumed to represent two related but distinct bodies. Such is not the case. In Scotland, where the movement originated, the sect has usually been known as "the Glasites", but in England, Wales, and America, where it spread as the result of the writings and labours of Robert Sandeman, the name commonly used has been that of "Sandemanians". The terms are interchangeable, especially with reference to the movement beyond Scotland.

NOTE :-

Unless otherwise stated, quotations from Glas's writings are taken from the Second Collected Edition of his Works in Five Volumes (Perth, 1782-1783).

The principal abbreviations used are:-
'Narrative' = 'A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Controversy about the National Covenants'.
'Cont. Narr.' = 'A Continuation of Mr. Glas's Narrative'.
'Letters in Correspondence' = 'Letters in Correspondence by Robert Sandeman, John Glas, and their Contemporaries'.
'Supp. Letters' = 'Supplementary Volume of Letters of John Glas, Robert Sandeman', etc.

PART I

THE LIFE AND LABOURS OF GLAS

PART I : LIFE AND LABOURS

SECTION 1 : ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE

John Glas belonged to an old Scottish family whose name frequently⁽¹⁾ occurs in the Royal Scoto-Irish genealogies. He was descended from Alexander Glas of Pittintian in Strathearn, Perthshire. By a charter⁽²⁾ given under the Privy Seal (May 21st 1540) the estate of Pittintian had been granted in equal shares to Sir Thomas Glas, chaplain of Dunkeld, and his brother Alexander. For several generations the Glas family had close ties with the Reformed Church of Scotland to which it gave many of its sons. "Few families", says the late Sir James Balfour Paul, Lord Lyon, "have a longer or more widely spread connection with the Church than that of Glas of Pittintian"⁽³⁾. John Glas, the subject of this study, was the fifth son in an unbroken clerical succession.

The first clerical ancestor of John Glas was William, a younger son of the Laird of Pittintian. The Glas family enjoyed the favour of King James VI who took a personal interest in some of its members. A graduate of St. Andrews, William in 1583 was presented by the King to the vicariate of Little Dunkeld. The conflict between Crown and Kirk was now well-advanced, and in the year following William Glas's settlement the passing of the Black Acts dealt a severe blow at⁽⁴⁾ Presbytery. These Acts, which made illegal all ecclesiastical assemblies not sanctioned by the Crown, placed the appointment of bishops in the hands of the King. In the same year Glas became Treasurer to the bishop of the diocese, which seems to indicate that he was in favour

(1) J.C. Gibson, "The Baronies and Owners of Sauchie and Bannockburn" (1934), 32.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Quoted by Gibson, *ibid*, 33. Cf. George Turnbull's "Diary" in "Miscellany of the Scottish History Society", I, 309.

(4) D. Calderwood, "Hist. Kirk of Scotland", IV, 63-64.

with the dominant party in the Kirk. Two years later he received the living of Dowallie, and in 1589 was nominated a member of the Commission charged with "the preservation of true religion" within the sheriffdoms of Perth, Stormont, and Dunkeld. In January 1607 he declined a position as constant Moderator of his presbytery. Sometime later, without relinquishing his charges at Little Dunkeld and Dowallie, he became minister of Dunkeld. Of his seven children, two sons, William and Thomas, entered the ministry.⁽¹⁾

William Glas, Junior, second son of the foregoing was educated at St. Andrews. He was minister, first at Moulin, and afterwards at Dunkeld,⁽²⁾ where he succeeded his father. He married Jean, daughter of John Cunyson of Ardgie, who was descended from the old Earls of Atholl. Alexander, the second son of this marriage, became Laird of Sauchie⁽³⁾ in Stirlingshire, and founder of an influential family.

Thomas, the eldest son of William and Jean Glas, was born (probably at Dunkeld) in 1620. After graduating at St. Andrews he studied for the ministry. In 1646 he declined the presentation by King Charles I to the living of Dunkeld, but in November of the following year he was ordained to Little Dunkeld. His sympathies at this time were apparently with the stricter Presbyterian party, for in the dispute between the Resolutioners and the Protesters he joined the latter. Three years after the Restoration of Charles II he was accused by the Privy Council of "still labouring to keep the hearts of the people from the present government in Church and State". Afterwards he con-⁽⁴⁾formed to the Episcopal regime. He died in March 1682 at the age of 62.

(1) Hew Scot, "Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae", New Ed., IV, 154.

(2) Mrs. Glas was an ardent Episcopalian who, according to local tradition, refused to allow a bell (now in the Episcopal Church at Kilmaveonaig, Blair Atholl) which she had presented to the church at Little Dunkeld to be rung for Presbyterian worship. Gibson, op. cit., 32.

(3) Gibson, op. cit., 32; Scot, "Fasti", IV, 158.

(4) J. Hunter, "The Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld", II, 306-307.

Alexander Glas, born about 1653, was the second child of Thomas Glas and his wife Agnes Anderson. He graduated at Glasgow in 1671, after which he became minister of a Presbyterian Church at Dunmurry, Ireland. Following the Revolution Settlement he returned to Scotland (c. 1691), and was admitted to the parish of Auchtermuchty, Fife, from which he was translated to Kinclaven, Perthshire, in April 1700. He married Christian, daughter of John Duncan, minister of Rerwick in Galloway. John Glas was their only son. They had also two daughters: (1) Agnes, who married William Lyon, minister of Airlie, one of the dissentients to the deposition of his brother-in-law in 1728; and Margaret, who became the wife of George Fleming, minister of Lundie in Angus. Alexander Glas died in the Spring of 1725. His widow went to reside with her son at the Manse of Tealing where she passed away on June 12th 1726.

John Glas was born at Auchtermuchty on September 21st 1695, and was between four and five when his father removed to Kinclaven. His early education was received at the parish school of Kinclaven, and later at the Grammar School, Perth, of which John Martin, a famous dominie of his day, was Rector. Here Glas laid the foundations of his classical scholarship, becoming proficient in Greek and Latin. Studious by disposition, and religiously inclined, he was destined for the ministry of the Church which had been served by so many of his forebears. In due season he entered St. Leonard's College at St. Andrews, where he graduated Master of Arts on May 6th 1713. His further studies in philosophy and theology were pursued at the University of Edinburgh.

Trained by his father in the orthodox Calvinist tradition he early revealed a seriousness of mind and heart which seemed to fit

(1) Two sons, William and Robert, solicitor and merchant respectively became Glasite Elders in Dundee. W. Wilson, "Airlie", 215-216.

him for the work of the ministry. But this same seriousness made him hesitate to take the final steps. Having a high conception of the pastoral office, he felt himself inadequately prepared to assume its duties. Despite this feeling he could not settle down to any other occupation. His friends, however, had noticed his thoughtfulness and earnestness. The Presbytery took the initiative by urging him to prepare for "trials" as a licentiate. Still he hesitated. "My uneasiness in all respects", he wrote several years later, "was evident to me, and I was therefore truly averse from it"⁽¹⁾. Not least of the reasons which held him back was his own spiritual uncertainty. While his studies had confirmed his belief in the doctrines of the Church as opposed to sceptical and Deistical teaching, he lacked the assurance of peace with God. The question which most exercised him was how a man might become justified before God. At last he yielded to the pressure of his friends. His "trials" were sustained by the Presbytery of Dunkeld and on May 20th 1718 he was licensed as a probationer. According to Robert Wodrow, Glas's father was dissatisfied with his son's trials and "said to some that he was not pleased with him"⁽²⁾.

Nine months later, on February 19th 1719, Glas was called to the church and parish of Tealing (in succession to Mr. Hugh Maxwell). On March 4th he was appointed by the Presbytery of Dundee, "jure devoluto"⁽³⁾, and two days later was ordained to his charge.

(1) "Continuation of Narrative", 138.
(2) "Analecta", III, 323.
(3) Scot, "Fasti", V, 370.

SECTION 2 : MINISTRY AT TEALING - THE RISE OF THE
CONTROVERSY ON THE COVENANTS

Tealing, the charge to which John Glas was inducted at the age of 24, was (and still is) a scattered parish, lying on the south side of the Sidlaw Hills, about five miles from Dundee. According to the Old Statistical Account, published towards the end of the eighteenth century, "The name of the parish is Gaelic, and signifies 'a country of brooks and waters', in which, indeed, this small district abounds"⁽¹⁾. The parish, which is about three miles in length, and from one mile to two miles in width, contains the hamlets of Kirkton, Newbigging, Balkello, and Todhills. Craigowl (1100 feet), the highest peak of the Sidlaws, lies within its borders. Tealing, which is full of⁽²⁾ antiquarian interest, possesses many relics of pre-historic times. Alban Butler states that in the seventh century A. D. St. Boniface founded here a church which he dedicated to St. Peter. During the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214) the Church and the Priest's Croft⁽³⁾ were gifted by Hugh Gifford to the Priory of St. Andrews. Among other churches and possessions confirmed to the prior and brethren of St. Andrews by Pope Innocent III, in 1206, was "ecclesiam⁽⁴⁾ de thelin", while another contemporary charter indicates that the Priory⁽⁵⁾ had the right of disposal - a right which Bishop Dowden says the canons must have exercised "by presumably exchanging the right of presentation for some equivalent, and that thus the benefice became a prebend of Dunkeld"⁽⁶⁾. Ingram of Kettins, who held the cure of Tealing in the fourteenth century, was also Archdeacon of Dunkeld - which

(1) Sir John Sinclair, "Statistical Account of Scotland", O.S., Vols. IV and XXI.

(2) A.J. Warden, "Angus or Forfarshire", V, 228-230. (3) Ibid, 211.

(4) "Register of the Priory of St. Andrews", 72. (5) Ibid, 326.

(6) "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland", XXXVII, 251.

offices were combined not only in Pre-Reformation times but also during the Episcopal regime. The present church edifice contains some interesting mural monuments, one of which commemorates Ingram of Kettins. Ingram died in 1380 and, as the stone indicates, was buried at Tealing. This tablet, one of the oldest of its kind in Scotland, is unique in having its inscription in the vernacular of the time.⁽¹⁾

In the eighteenth century the population of Tealing numbered between seven and eight hundred. John Glas entered upon his work with a sincere desire to prove himself a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, and of the Church of Scotland with which his family had been closely connected for a century and a half. The early part of the eighteenth century was a period during which spiritual religion was at a low ebb in Scotland. Such interest as did exist expressed itself not so much in evangelical zeal and the pursuit of spiritual culture, as in concern for the externals of religion, the maintenance of the Covenants and the National Establishment, the security of the Presbyterian polity, and the rights of the people as opposed to patronage. Glas was well informed respecting these matters. He regarded himself as an orthodox Presbyterian and upholder of the National Church, believing that, as against Episcopacy on the one hand and Independency on the other, Presbytery was more in harmony with the New Testament. Ten years later (1729) he wrote: "I had looked a little into the episcopal controversy, and was fully satisfied, that in the word of God there was no foundation for prelacy, and that the presbyterians had the better of them by the Scriptures..... I had not then considered the controversy betwixt the

(1) Warden, op. cit., V, 212; Alex. Hutcheson, "Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.", XXX, 41-48; J. Dowden, Ibid, XXVII, 245-251. See also S. Macaulay, "Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society", III, Pt. I (1910), 95-97.

presbyterians and them of the congregational way, but took up the common report against the congregational business, that it is mere confusion, and was the mother of all the sectaries.... Thus I thought myself a sound presbyterian, and accordingly declared myself so, by subscribing the ⁽¹⁾Formula". Glas began his ministry with a determination to make the Word of God his sole rule of conduct, and, as he remarks, it never occurred to him that adherence to such a rule was ever likely to bring him into collision with the laws and standards of his Church.

Glas was not long settled at Tealing before he discovered the backward state of spiritual religion in his parish. He also found considerable disaffection toward the National Church, especially on the part of those who inclined to Cameronian views. From the beginning of his pastorate this section gave him much trouble. Their attitude towards the new minister was cold and critical. If they came to hear him, it was not with any expectation of deriving benefit from his preaching. The ministers of the Establishment who attained some degree of popularity were those who showed themselves most zealous in maintaining the binding obligation of the Covenants, and as Glas did not manifest zeal in this direction he was regarded as lukewarm concerning matters of primary importance. His first concern was the spiritual welfare of his parishoners who had been described as "an ignorant and ⁽²⁾ungodly people". When asked why he did not preach against Episcopacy, as earnest ministers before him had done, he replied that "if they were once Christians, it were then perhaps time to speak of that". Both by pulpit ministrations and private catechising he endeavoured to instruct his flock in the truths of the Christian faith. In the first year of his ministry he began a course of evening lectures on the

(1) "Continuation of Narrative", 138-139.
(2) "Narrative", 2.

questions of the Shorter Catechism. At the same time he subjected himself to great searchings of soul, as a result of which he came to rest his faith in simple dependence upon the work of Christ.

Two years after his settlement at Tealing Glas married Catherine Black, eldest daughter of Thomas Black, minister of the Second Charge at Perth. ⁽¹⁾ Mr. Black was elected Moderator of the General Assembly in 1721, the year of his daughter's marriage. Though barely seventeen at this time, ⁽²⁾ Catherine Glas proved herself a devoted helpmeet and a sympathetic supporter who courageously stood by her husband until her death on September 19th, 1749.

At the beginning of his ministry Glas's preaching met with so little response that he was greatly discouraged and even began to wonder if after all he had mistaken his vocation. The Kirk Session records reveal some of the difficulties he had to encounter. Cases of discipline were numerous, and some of his parishoners resented ⁽³⁾ his firmness. But his continued earnestness in preaching, his personal character, and pastoral kindliness began to make an impression. Many of his critics were silenced and some won over to his side. His reputation as a preacher quickly spread, so that numbers from neighbouring parishes came to hear him. When his services were sought by other ministers on Sacramental occasions the churches were filled with interested listeners.

The continued opposition of the Cameronian faction led Glas to make a careful study of the nature of Christ's Kingdom, and to review the vexed question of the Covenants in the light of Scripture

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- (1) Thomas Black was a scholarly and popular preacher, greatly beloved by his people who on his appointment by Queen Anne in 1707 to the Chair of Divinity in St. Mary's, St. Andrews, refused to part with him. Wilson, "The Presbytery of Perth", 210; Warrick, "Moderators of the Church of Scotland", 267. (2) Born Aug. 8th, 1704.
- (3) The Session minute of Nov. 11th, 1723, records that one, Patrick Milne refused to appear before "that villan Glass" and the Session, though willing to stand "in sackcloth" at any other kirk door within the Presbytery.

revelation. "I resolved, if possible, to be at the bottom of this controversy, and that it should be determined to me by the word of the Lord Jesus, and by that only"⁽¹⁾. The 26th Question of the Shorter Catechism, "How doth Christ execute the office of a king?", set him seriously to think, for he could not reconcile the teaching of Scripture with the principles of the Covenants. He was led to conclusions afterwards embodied and elaborated in his first and most important theological work "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs", the main thesis of which is that the Kingdom of Christ is essentially spiritual, and as such is completely independent of State sanctions and control, as well as of the support of the secular arm. "Then I had done with national covenanting, under the new testament, according to all the views that they who are truly zealous for our national covenants have had of that covenanting"⁽²⁾.

Naturally Glas's new point of view, which was reflected in his teaching, both public and private, caused no little stir among the people to whom it seemed novel, especially the ardent supporters of the Covenants, whose opposition was thereby increased. Glas had no desire to engage in public controversy, and would have been content to pursue his own course, proclaiming the truth as it commended itself to him. Circumstances, however, forced the issue into a larger field. About this time considerable feeling was aroused by the innocent action of Mr. James Traill, minister at Montrose, in subscribing a donation to a public effort on behalf of a proposed Episcopal church in that town. The zealots for the Covenants loudly denounced him as a traitor to the cause, and he was cited before the presbytery on a charge of encouraging malignants who were building a "synagogue

(1) "Narrative", 3.

(2) Ibid., 4.

of Satan". The matter was also discussed at the Synod where it was strongly pressed, especially by John Willison, minister at Dundee, and James Goodsir, minister at Monikie, both prominent in the later proceedings against Glas. The spirit of dissension became widespread in Angus and Mearns, until it seemed not unlikely that there might be large secessions to the Cameronians. The Presbytery attempted to avert the separation by appealing to the General Assembly for a renewal of the Covenants. While feeling still ran high, Glas was called to assist Mr. James Kerr of Dun at a Sacrament in his parish, where he took the opportunity of urging the people to stand by their minister, so anxious was he to allay the storm and preserve the unity of the Church.

The movement towards secession received a check by the death in 1723 of John Hepburn of Urr in Galloway, an ardent Covenanter who, on several occasions, had come into conflict with the authorities both ecclesiastical and secular, and whose party, known as the Hebronites, maintained a position akin to that of the Cameron-
(1)
ians. But those in Angus who favoured separation endeavoured to
(2)
win over Francis Archibald, minister of Guthrie, in the Presbytery of Arbroath, who was known to have leanings toward the Cameronians. Prior to his ordination Archibald had some difference with the Presbytery respecting the oath of adjuration. This was revived when in 1725 the Presbytery required its members to sign the Formula of
(3)
1711. Archibald refused to comply, and submitted a paper enumerating the defections of the Church from the Covenants since the time of the Public Resolutions. A similar protest was signed in Angus and

(1) W.M'Millan, "The Hebronites", "Records Scot. Ch. Hist. Soc.", V, Part II, 173; also "John Hepburn", passim.

(2) Archibald was settled at Guthrie against the wishes of the parishoners. Scot, "Fasti", V, 437.

(3) Scot, "Fasti", V, 437; Geo. Hay, "History of Arbroath", 213-215.

Mearns with a view to separation. Glas was greatly concerned about this movement which he considered "the most effectual way to ruin the interest of the gospel in this country"⁽¹⁾. He felt he could no longer keep silent on the matter. "I thought myself bound no longer to forbear, and reckoned it my duty to give the people, as far as I had access, some information upon that point; even as I myself had been taught"⁽²⁾.

Meanwhile there had been a development in Glas's own thought respecting the nature and constitution of the Church. From a belief in the essential spirituality of the Church he advanced to the view that such a Church was composed of true believers who possessed a real experience of saving grace, who, in obedience to the mind of Christ, had been moved to separate themselves from the world. Unconsciously he had approximated to the principles of the English Independents or Congregationalists who maintained the necessity of "gathered churches" as distinct from parochial congregations. It was his father, whose life was now drawing to a close, who first told him that he was really an Independent at heart, and who prophesied that like Ishmael "his hand would be against every man, and every man's hand against him". His father-in-law, Thomas Black, also informed him that the purity of communion he desired was an unattainable ideal, that "he was fighting in vain, for what he aimed at never would or could take place"⁽³⁾. Glas's reply was that if he could find a dozen shepherds at the foot of Seidla-hill to join with him he would be happy.

His views excited surprise and evoked condemnation, but he held firmly to his position. Many of his friends advised him not to air

(1) "Narrative", 7.

(2) Ibid., 7-8.

(3) "An Account of the Life and Character of Mr. John Glas", x.

his opinions too publicly, pointing out his obligations to his wife and family and the danger of inviting censure or even deprivation. For some time he continued in great distress of mind, feeling that he stood alone, but when his wife and later some of his parishoners told him that they now understood and sympathised with his views he took new heart and hope. He resolved to gather those of like mind with himself into a little society. This fellowship was formed at Tealing on July 13th 1725 with a roll of nearly a hundred persons some of whom came from other parishes. The members "agreed to join together in Christian profession, to follow Christ the Lord, as the righteousness of his people, and to walk together in brotherly love, and in the duties of it, in subjection to Mr. Glas, as their overseer in the Lord"⁽¹⁾. It was also arranged that the Communion of the Lord's Supper should be observed once a month. At a second meeting on August 12th the principle contained in St. Matthew xviii, 15 ff. was accepted in relation to offences, and in December it was decided to institute a fund for the relief of necessitous members. At a later date the brethren were enjoined to hold weekly meetings for prayer and mutual exhortation.

In adopting this "group" method of Christian fellowship Glas did not at this time consider that he was doing anything inconsistent with his position as a minister of the Church of Scotland. But such was not the view of those who disagreed with him. In their opinion the formation of his society was really the establishment of an independent church within his parish, while he himself occupied the anomalous dual position of minister of a parochial charge and pastor of a "gathered church". It is not surprising that the epithet

(1) "Account...John Glas", x.

"Independent" was applied to him. This cry caused him to make a closer examination of the differences between Presbyterianism and Independency, from which he was obliged to acknowledge to himself⁽¹⁾ that his affinities were with the latter rather than the former. In reviewing this period of his life he says that he never doubted that some day he might be called to answer for his views and practices but that his mind was still open to receive light on the Presbyterian claim.

(2)

Not only some of his contemporaries but later writers also have charged him with a want of manliness in not resigning his living. That he was sensitive on this point is shown by his attempt to justify himself. "If upon the alteration of my sentiments I had dealt unfairly with the society to the privileges of which I had access by subscribing the Formula, and had covered myself, then I confess I was to be blamed"⁽³⁾. He maintains that both his ministerial engagements and the Word of God required that he should declare the whole counsel of God, that his native land had as good a right as any other to all Christ's institutions, and that he did not see why he should be called upon to divest himself of his rights and privileges before the judicatories of the Church had considered whether or not his position was inconsistent and had pronounced accordingly. To accuse Glas of want of manliness or honesty is to do him injustice, but it is difficult to appreciate his reasonings on this score both before and during the process of his case in the Church Courts. His after history, however, shows that when necessity arose he possessed courage to make sacrifices on behalf of principles which he held dear.

(1) "Con. Narrative", Preface, 140.

(2) Bogue and Bennett, "History of Dissenters", IV, 64.

(3) "Con. Narr.", 140.

The formation of the "ecclesiola" at Tealing gave a handle to Glas's critics who already disagreed with him on the question of the Covenants, and from this time events moved quickly.

About this time Glas, with Mr. Willison and others, was present on a Fast-day occasion near to Dundee, when Mr. Goodsir stoutly maintained the Covenants. In conversation with Willison Glas complained of the unseasonableness of the utterance, and in his own sermon on the following day he dealt with "the mistaken notion of the nature of Christ's kingdom, as if it were of this world, and came with observation, and as if his servants were to fight for him, taking him by force to make him king"⁽¹⁾. In a subsequent discourse delivered in Dundee he declared that the setting up of any other covenant than Christ's tended to divide God's people and to encourage association with those who were not necessarily His. This sermon was construed by some as an attack on the Covenants. Among those who took exception to it was Mr. Willison who shortly afterwards proposed to Glas that the question should be discussed in writing.

As Mr. Archibald's defection to the Cameronians seemed imminent Glas took the opportunity of conversing with him during the Synod held at Montrose in October 1725. He was favourably impressed by Archibald's sincerity, conscientiousness, and Christian charity. In December Archibald wrote to Glas requesting a further explanation of his views on the Covenants. In reply Glas wrote the letter which was to kindle into flame the smouldering embers of controversy, and which later was to provide material for the charges brought against him in the ecclesiastical Courts. This letter was written hurriedly and intended to be private. On the advice of friends Glas did not send the

(1) "Narrative", 9.

letter but asked Mr. Archibald to discuss the matter in conversation . The interview which took place at a neighbouring manse seemed to Glas unproductive of agreement. It was not until the summer of the following year (1726) that the letter was circulated among a few friends, by which time the question of the Covenants was being widely discussed. Though "it was given out with great caution", its contents soon obtained publicity, and Glas was surprised to find that it had passed through many hands. Among those who read it was Ebenezer Erskine, minister at Portm~~ack~~, who though not personally acquainted⁽¹⁾ with Glas wrote expressing his appreciation. Glas was not ashamed of what he had written. Once the secret was out he was quite willing to let the principles enunciated go forth to the world. It is noteworthy that in the conclusion of the letter Glas endeavoured to dissuade Archibald from seceding to the Cameronians - indeed, even urged⁽²⁾ him to submit to the requirements of the National Church.

Before the close of the winter (1725-6) Glas spent some days in Dundee in connection with a Communion season, and here had an interview with Willison. The latter professed readiness to waive the question of the Covenants if Glas would stand by him in certain other matters. Though Glas had previously supported Willison in the case of a disputed settlement, he had a dislike for cliques and parties in the presbytery, and he now made it clear that he was not prepared to attach himself to any party. From this time dates a coolness and hidden antipathy on the part of Willison which was manifested in insinuations and depreciatory remarks to others including some of Glas's personal friends.

(1) "Supplementary Volume of Letters", etc., Appendix, p. 6.

(2) The letter, dated Dec. 1725, may be seen in "Narrative", 11-25.
Cf. Appendix to "Memoirs", lxxi-lxxxii.

Preaching at Fowlis in the summer of 1726 Glas introduced his views on the nature of Christ's Kingdom. Willison remarked that some of the interpretations of Scripture were new to him, but so far from condemning the sermon he seemed to approve it. Later, however, in conversation with some ministers, he criticised one part which referred to the Old Testament worthies who had died in faith, saying that Glas had maintained a Limbus Patrum. A sermon preached at Longforgan the same summer aroused criticism. Glas had declared that apart from the new testament in Christ's blood there was no other covenant in the New Testament Church. So strong was the feeling against Glas that some refused to attend a Sacrament if he were to⁽¹⁾ be present. Mr. Willison revealed his displeasure by stating that if Mr. Glas ventured to speak further on the subject he would oppose him publicly.

It so happened that both Willison and Glas were under engagement to preach at the forthcoming Communion in Strathmartine parish. Glas was unaware of Willison's intention to use this occasion to refute him, but it was known to others who viewed with grave concern the meeting of the two ministers. When Glas did hear of it he had not decided to refer to the subject in dispute. On his arrival in Dundee on the Wednesday prior to the Communion, some of his friends besought him not to introduce the question as Mr. Willison would certainly attack him. On the same day Willison and Glas met, and Willison spoke of the great offence which he had noticed during a recent visit to Abernethy. In an apparently friendly manner he requested Glas to refrain from exciting further dissension. Glas replied that as he regarded the matter as one of importance, he could not

(1) "Narrative", 28 ; Adam Philip, "The Evangel in Gowrie", 190.

give an undertaking to remain silent, lest circumstances should make silence on his part to be sinful. Willison said that if the subject were broached he would be obliged to oppose him, to which Glas answered that he was at liberty to do so. Willison offered to be silent if Glas would give a similar promise, but to this the latter would not agree, saying that if Willison felt as strongly as he suggested it was surely his duty not to enter into any compromise. Willison supported his plea by other considerations, pointing out the dangers to which Glas exposed himself. Willison was a man of earnest piety, and his effort to avoid controversy seems to have been sincere, but Glas was not convinced of this. Rightly or wrongly he imagined that his opponents really desired him to speak out clearly. So the two ministers parted without agreement. Glas realised that a crisis in his own career was approaching, but he felt that to retain his self-respect and the favour of God, there was only one course possible, to confess his faith openly, regardless of consequences.

Hostilities began on the following day which was observed as a Fast-day. In a prayer after his sermon Willison introduced the overshadowing danger, petitioning that nothing might happen to disturb the fellowship of God's people. Glas was moved to ask Mr. William Thomson, the minister of Strathmartine, to endeavour to find a substitute for himself at the Saturday sermon, and even requested a neighbouring minister to take his place, but no one was willing to come forward. When Saturday came Glas, who had been somewhat uneasy over his attempt to avoid the issue, discovered that he must fulfil his engagement. Mr. Thomson and other ministerial friends begged him not to mention the Covenants, and Mr. Willison, through the mediation

of Mr. Ogilvy, a brother minister, renewed his overtures. But Glas would not be dissuaded. When the time came he announced as his text: "And we believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God" (John vi, 69). He proceeded to speak of Christ in His threefold office as Prophet, Priest, and King, declaring that he felt bound to confess his faith respecting the nature of Christ's Kingdom as stated in Christ's own confession before Pontius Pilate (John xviii, 36-37) - "the good confession of the King of martyrs". Christ, he said, "testified plainly, that his kingdom, which he used to design the kingdom of heaven, is not a worldly kingdom, and that it is not set up, advanced, or defended, as the kingdoms of this world; either, 1. By human policy; for it is by the truth: Or, 2. By human eloquence, and the words of man's wisdom; for it is by bearing witness for the truth : Or, 3. By worldly force and power; for its subjects are all these, and these only, who are of this truth". He then declared his adherence to the testimony of the apostles who had maintained the spirituality of Christ's kingdom against the Judaisers who upheld a temporal kingdom, and also to the teaching of the fathers and martyrs of the Church who had opposed any earthly head of the Church not appointed by Christ. But, he added, "as far as they contended for any such national covenants as whereby Christ's kingdom should be of this world, his Church and the world mingled together, and his people who are of the truth, and hear his voice, divided from one another, and such as he hath not appointed under the New Testament, but set aside; so far they were not enlightened⁽¹⁾".

Willison, who had listened to Glas's discourse, followed him in the pulpit. He stoutly declared for the National Covenant, which was

(1) "Narrative", 32.

the glory of Scotland, the outcome of the outpouring of the Spirit upon kings, nobles, barons, and people; that for the Covenants the martyrs had contended and suffered. Proceeding, he bemoaned that the martyrs were apparently so little appreciated. The opposition to the Covenants was also opposition to a National Church and a national confession of faith. The sermon closed with an exhortation to pray for a revival of God'd work through a renewal of the
(1)
Covenants.

The antagonists had crossed swords, and the issue was now joined. The occasion had attracted large numbers of interested people from the parishes within the presbytery. It was generally felt that the matter would not be allowed to rest, but must be fought out in the arena of the Church Courts. Wodrow remarks, "This
(2)
affair makes no little noise, and what will be the event I know not". Such was the situation on August 6th 1726 - the date on which the conflict definitely began. The next meeting of Presbytery, due a month later, was looked forward to with deep concern, not only by the parties most nearly affected, but also by all who were anxious for the peace and unity of the Church of Scotland.

(1) "Narrative", 35-36; Wodrow, "Analecta", III, 323. Cf. Willison, "The Balm of Gilead" in "Works" (ed. Hetherington), 404, and "A Fair and Impartial Testimony", "Works", 911-913.
(2) Wodrow, "Analecta", III, 323.

SECTION 3 : PROGRESS OF THE CONTROVERSY ON THE COVENANTS

The Presbytery of Dundee met on September 6th 1726. Mr. Willison who had charge of the opening exercises ventured to reprove those in the Church who were dissatisfied with the Covenants and had introduced novel doctrines. National covenanting, he said, could be proved from both the Old and New Testaments, but he would not enter into that, as he preferred to leave the question to the judicatories of the Church. It was apparent to all present that his intention was to induce the Presbytery to take notice of the commotion which had arisen at Strathmartine during the first week of August. When Glas was called in turn to offer observations on the exercises, he took exception to certain references both in the address and the prayer. The Presbytery decided that as the matter was one of public interest both Mr. Willison and Mr. Glas should have an opportunity at the close of the ordinary business to express their minds more fully. The discussion which followed revealed the strong feeling existing among the brethren present. Mr. Goodsir declared that Mr. Glas had denied the doctrine of the Church of Scotland and that the Presbytery ought to demand silence on his part. Others, including Mr. James Marr of Murroes, said that before any judgment was passed Mr. Glas should be allowed to speak in his own defence. Willison referred to an Act of Assembly which required the deposition of those who spoke against the Covenants. He did not ask that Glas be deposed, but that he be censured. In reply Glas observed that in charging him with opposition to the doctrine of the Church Mr. Willison had mentioned the National Covenant, but had said nothing of the Solemn League and Covenant which was of equal authority, and that if Mr.

Willison did not admit the obligation of the latter he too was open to a charge of opposition to the doctrine of the Church and the martyrs. Consequently he would like Mr. Willison to declare himself on this point before the Presbytery. This Willison declined to do, stating that he was under no obligation to answer Mr. Glas's question. Some of the brethren urged that the dispute should be taken to the judicatories. After some contention, a friendly discussion of the differences was arranged. Willison desired the Presbytery to act in a judicial capacity, but this was refused. Glas gave an account of the doctrine he had preached at Strathmartine, after which a heated argument took place between Willison and himself. At last Glas informed his opponent that as his manner and methods made friendly discussion impossible he must decline to converse further with him; whereupon Willison and some of his friends were so incensed that they withdrew from the meeting.

Shortly afterwards Glas learned that certain ministers, who hitherto had not displayed great enthusiasm for the Covenants but were displeased with him on other grounds, were preparing to attack him at the forthcoming Synod. His opponents lost no opportunity of inveighing against his opinions. Mr. Goodsir, on the occasion of his Sacrament at Murroes, debarred from Communion any who objected to the national Covenants, and a movement was started to ostracise Glas by ceasing to invite him to preach at neighbouring Communion. All this tended to excite public feeling and to fan the controversial flame.

When the Presbytery assembled in October Glas proposed that as the members had already been informed respecting his teaching at

Strathmartine they should now consider what Mr. Willison had said on that occasion. He also desired to know if Mr. Willison's opposition to himself was determined by considerations of principle and conscience. Willison professed his sincerity and endeavoured to explain and justify his words. After much deliberation the Presbytery enjoined Glas to be silent on the disputed subject, but he expressed his inability to acquiesce, because he was satisfied that his preaching was neither contrary to the truth of the Gospel nor inconsistent with the principles of the Establishment as were the Covenants. He complained that the Presbytery had decided hastily, and that the injunction of silence was likely to injure his ministry, for while he himself was debarred from speaking, his opponents would be free to speak against him and his work. He requested the Presbytery to take notice of Mr. Goodsir's action at Murroes in debarring from Communion those who held different views concerning the Covenants. Mr. Goodsir maintained that he had merely followed his usual custom of "fencing the tables". Willison declared that the sole responsibility for the controversy rested with Glas, to which the latter retorted that the trouble was due to Willison and his wife.⁽¹⁾

On the following day the Synod opened in Dundee. Mr Maxwell of Forfar (Glas's predecessor at Tealing) asked that a committee be appointed to consider an important matter relating to the Presbytery of Dundee. Willison seconded, saying that such a course might prevent the matter being carried further. The Committee of overtures was instructed to investigate and act. This Committee, without making

(1) "Narrative", 45. It is interesting to note that Mrs. Willison who survived her husband (d. 1750) until March 1758, found spiritual comfort in her last illness from the testimony of a Glasite maid-servant. Vide, "Letters in Correspondence", 58.

any minute, decided to leave the matter to the Presbytery and not to bring it before the Synod. Towards the close of the Synod, Mr. Maxwell asked the Court to re-affirm the perpetual obligation of the Covenants, but the suggestion was not approved. The Presbytery⁽¹⁾ also showed disinclination to take up the matter, which was again deferred until the next Synod to be held at Arbroath in April 1727.

Meantime complaint was raised in the Committee of overtures regarding three anonymous letters written in answer to twenty-six Queries addressed to Mr. Glas by Mr. James Adams, minister of Kinnaird in Gowrie. "Adams", says Dr. Adam Philip, "was a man of fiery temperament", who "had a great admiration for the Covenanters, 'our worthy ancestors', so he called them. He spoke of the pleasure of fighting for the good old cause, and went further as to the binding obligation of the Covenants than most of his brethren".⁽²⁾

⁽³⁾
Glas had seen the pamphlet by Adams, but had not carefully examined the Queries until they appeared in the Letters to Adams. Glas himself was suspected of the authorship of these letters, but this he disclaimed, stating that however favourable the writer might appear to him, he could not approve the answers. He understood that the anonymous author was not a minister of the Establishment. Now that a stranger was attempting to answer for him, he felt it was

(1) Vide Wodrow, "Analecta" (Nov. 1726), III, 357: "The affair of Mr. Glass... continues to make a noise. It has been before the Synod who have remitted (it) to the Presbytery. The Presbytery think by calm methods to gain him... This young man seems to be Independent in his principles, and against all power in spiritual Societys beyond a single congregation... He is not for any Society, and can bear no contradiction, without running to heights. It's designed by smooth methods to keep him quiet".

(2) Philip, "The Evangel in Gowrie", 174. Cf. "Fasti", V, 346.

(3) "Queries concerning the Lawfulness of National Covenanting"; Cf. "An Essay to Prove the Perpetual Obligation of the National Covenant...with a Postscript...on three Scandalous Letters" (1727). The author of this anonymous pamphlet was James Gray.

incumbent upon himself to reply directly to Adams. This he did in a
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series of counter-queries, sixty-three in number.

In the Presbytery of Dundee attention was drawn to the Letters.
(2)
Willison also mentioned another writing wherein the Covenants were represented as incompatible with the nature of Christ's kingdom. He insisted that unless notice were taken of this antipathy to the Covenants, the dissenters from the National Church would be confirmed in their attitude, while others within the Church would be induced to secede. In this contention he was supported by Mr. Goodsir. The Synod was urged to declare the binding obligation of the Covenants, but the proposal was opposed. The dispute continued until a committee was appointed to draw up an assertory act. Most of the members favoured such an act, but after pressure they decided to request the Committee of overtures to recommend to the Synod that, as there were complaints of ministers and judicatories not showing sufficient regard for the Covenants, they should pronounce them to be agreeable to the Word of God, the Confession of Faith, and the Formula. When the matter was introduced the Moderator asked for an expression of opinion. Mr. Archibald's judgment was invited, whereupon Glas remarked that Mr. Archibald was in a position to say whether or not the dissatisfaction expressed by some respecting the Covenants tended to encourage separation and schism. Archibald replied that those who were in separation regarded the ministers of the National Church as of two kinds- those who formally professed to acknowledge the Covenants yet materially denied them, and those who formally denied them. As for the dissentients within the Church he could only speak for

(1) Vide "Narrative", 48-62.

(2) Presumably Glas's letter to Archibald.

himself. What Mr. Glas had said against the Covenants had made his own position easier. Archibald's speech created much surprise in the Synod. He was accused of inconsistency, the Moderator remarking that apparently Mr. Glas had brought him round to his opinion. Glas said that if such were the case, his principles had not in this instance tended to promote separation.

As a member of committee Glas asked to be heard respecting the draught of the proposed ~~aseextory~~ act. He questioned if the best people and wisest ministers were desirous that the matter should be taken to the Synod. He requested a definition of what was meant by the Covenants- if these were only the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant. Further, what was to be the precise affirmation- that the Covenants were asserted in so far as they were agreeable to the Word of God, the Confession of Faith, and the Formula, or that it was asserted that they were agreeable? In the end a decision to transmit the draught form to the Synod was carried by a small majority.

When the draught was introduced to the Synod Glas raised the objection he had previously made in committee. Meanwhile the introducers of the form had deleted the plural "s" from the word "Covenants". After discussion it was resolved that the draught should lie on the table until next meeting, go to the presbyteries in the minutes, and finally be enacted at a full session of the Synod. A protest signed
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by several ministers was handed in to accompany the form of the act. Among the complaints made against those who objected to the Covenants was one to the effect that their principles involved a denial of the

(1) Hugh Maxwell (Forfar), John Willison (Dundee), James Goodsir (Monikie), James Gray (Kettins), Robert Gray (Brechtin), John Row (Lethnot and Navar), John Ballantyne (Monifieth), and William Wingate (Kinnettles).

civil magistrate's power in the sphere of religion - a position inconsistent with the doctrine of the present ecclesiastical Establishment.

The controversy evoked a considerable epistolary literature both for and against the Covenants. Among the defenders of the Covenants was Mr. James Hog, minister of Carnock, who in November 1726 addressed a letter to a lady on the subject. Glas sent to the same lady a long reply to Hog's epistle. One writer, Mr. Walker, ventured to class Glas with Professor John Simson, whose case was then agitating the Church of Scotland, and to describe him as holding Independent principles abjured by the Covenants. About the same time John Willison published his most famous book, "The Afflicted Man's Companion", in the preface of which he attacked the opponents of the Covenants.

Another matter much discussed at this period, which also helped to accentuate existing differences, related to promiscuous communicating. Many earnest Christians regretted that more care was not taken in admitting people to the Lord's Table, but when they complained to their ministers they were told that it was impossible to depart from established custom. Glas, from the beginning of his ministry, had advocated discrimination, with the result that in his own parish there had been a marked improvement. During the period of the controversy he was invited by Francis Archibald to assist him at a Communion season in Guthrie, and asked that some of his people might accompany him. At the close of the Saturday sermon he referred to

(1) Reproduced in Glas's "Narrative", 69-71. (2) Ibid, 71-84.

(3) "Works" (ed. Hetherington), 729. "Some would be at breaking down the excellent forms of our reformation, viz. our covenants, confessions, the magistrate's power, &c. For this end, papers are spread, and positions advanced, impugning the warrantableness of our national covenants and confessions, and the obligation thereof" etc. Vide, "Narrative" (First Ed. 1728), 146. New Ed., 85.

the question of communicating. Mr. Archibald admitted publicly that he had been lax in this matter, on hearing which some of the elders from Tealing demurred to participate. To satisfy their scruples Mr. Archibald arranged for them to communicate at the last table after his own people had been served. On the Sunday, while Archibald dispensed the Sacrament in the church, Glas preached to those without. Then when the call was given to any who had not communicated he joined his own people and a few others in the church for the last table. Mr. Archibald dispensed, and the occasion was memorable as a season of spiritual blessing. Mr. Archibald's consideration for the friends of Glas brought upon him much criticism, and later he was called in question by the Presbytery for his action.⁽¹⁾

Glas's sermons on this and other occasions met with disfavour, and contributed to widen the breach between him and his opponents. Such was the position of affairs when the time came round for the next meeting of the Synod of Angus and Mearns.

(1) Wodrow, "Analecta", (Oct., 1727) III, 450.

SECTION 4 : THE PROCESS AGAINST GLAS TO HIS DEPOSITION
BY THE SYNOD OF ANGUS AND MEARNES IN 1728

The Synod met at Montrose on October 17th 1727. The following day the Committee of overtures dealt with the proposed assertory act which had been referred to it for consideration. At first the general feeling of the committee seemed to be in favour of the act, but after the correspondents from Aberdeen had urged the inexpediency of such action at the present time the enthusiasm died down. The committee, however, did accept the proposal that notice should be taken of any who had spoken against the Covenant or expressed views contrary to purity of doctrine. A sub-committee was appointed to prepare the overture, and Mr. Glas was requested to appear when called upon. When the committee sat it was discovered that Glas had not been privately interviewed by those who intended to inform against him. Two members were deputed to see Glas, one of whom mentioned several adverse stories which had been circulated concerning him. Though Glas was able to refute most of them they were later used against him. Glas was brought before the committee and examined regarding his teaching and ministry. Asked whether he had declared that "the covenant of grace was substantially or essentially different under the Old Testament and under the New", he replied that the questions were inadvertently or ignorantly put. When complaint was made of his reserve, he said that he was quite ready to answer any relevant and pertinent questions, that he was not ashamed of his principles but was resolved to defend them at any cost. Next day the committee presented its report, and overtured the Synod to instruct
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the Presbytery of Dundee, along with correspondents to be nominated

(1) Wodrow, "Analecta", III, 449.

later, to "make strict inquiry concerning the deportment of the said Mr. Glas", and if sufficient cause were found "to proceed against him, conform to the rules of this church, 'usque ad sententiam'; later, if a process were established, to apply to the Commission of the General Assembly for counsel, and then to report to the next Synod at Brechin in April 1728, the investigation to be continued "until the said affair be absolutely finished"⁽¹⁾. It was arranged to hold the first meeting in Dundee on November 15th. The overture was accepted by a large majority, and the correspondents⁽²⁾ were duly appointed, twenty-one ministers and three ruling elders. Before the vote Glas said that he considered the overture a slander upon himself, but that he hoped to be cleared in due time. The assertory act and protest were now withdrawn.

Glas realised that the issue would be pressed to a finish, but he had the inward satisfaction of having stood by his convictions. In his diary for October 22nd 1727 he mentions a meeting of his communicants to whom he related the events of the preceding week, and requested them to pray for him as "a suffering minister of Jesus Christ". He unburdened his heart to his friends and declared that he was willing "to live upon bread and water" as long as he was permitted to enjoy their fellowship in the Lord's Supper.

On March 26th 1728 the Presbytery of Dundee and the correspondents, acting on advice from a committee of the Commission of the

(1) Minutes of the Synod of Angus and Mearns, October 19th, 1727.

(2) Ministers:- James Gray (Kettins), Robt. Gray (Brechin), Thomas Ayton (Alyth), Robt. Steven (Craig and Dunninald), Hugh Maxwell (Forfar), Chas. Charteris (Arbirlot), Gilbert Anderson (Fordoun), Wm. Trail (Benholme), James Hugh, Robt. Trail (Panbride), George Ogilvy (Kirriemuir), George Wemyss (Fern), John Henderson (Kirkden), Jas. Ramsay (Bendochy), George Clephane (Newtyle), David Thomson (Meigle), Jas. Ogilvy (Glamis), Wm. Hepburn (Inverkeilor), Andrew Arnott (Dunnichen), John Couper (Montrose), Robt. Young (Inverarity); Elders:- The Laird of Gardum, Provost White (Brechin), George Nichol (Forfar).

Assembly, cited Mr. Glas and required him to subscribe his adherence to the Confession of Faith and the Formula of 1711, and to renounce in writing the errors of which he was accused. To this demand he replied, "I am not careful to answer you in that matter, let the consequences be what they will"; and to the second, "If I were made sensible of any errors that I have vented oꝛ taught, I would reckon it my honour judicially to renounce them, but until that be, I must be excused from renouncing them". Further questioned, he said that while his faith was contained in the Confession he could not subscribe for two reasons: First, because the Formula required him to affirm that the government of the National Church by Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, is founded upon and agreeable to the Word of God, whereas examination of the question had led him to conclude that the Presbyterian order as thus defined had not the warrant of Divine authority, though at the same time he did not disclaim the legal establishment, "seeing, as he takes it, that establishment does not settle it (the constitution of the National Church) upon the foundation of the word of God"⁽¹⁾. Secondly, because the Confession (Part II.c.xxiii, paragraph 3) allows the authority of the civil magistrate in the maintenance of church order and doctrine and the suppression of heresies and abuses, with power to call and to attend Synods for that purpose- whereas he does not see that such authority has the sanction of God's Word, or that the civil magistrate is called to judge and exercise the power of the keys in the sphere of Christ's kingdom which is spiritual. At the same time Glas expressed his openness to conviction from the Scriptures on these matters. When the charges of error were read and Glas was

(1) Appendix to "Narrative", 127.

called to answer thereto, he replied that it would be time to make his own statement after the court had examined his accusers. He admitted having said that he was not convinced that the Formula had the sanction of Christ as a test of admission to the ministry of the Gospel and a cure of souls.⁽¹⁾

The report of the Presbytery respecting Glas was presented to the Synod at Brechin in April 1728. The first step taken by the Synod was to submit to Glas a number of Queries, answers to which were to be returned in time for the next sederunt. These Queries, twenty-six in number, to which there was added a further question put separately by the Synod, are of primary importance for a full understanding both of the Synod's action and of Glas's personal beliefs.⁽²⁾ Though Glas himself was given only a few hours to prepare his answers, the questions addressed to him are so comprehensive and searching as to suggest careful preparation on the part of the framers. It was evidently intended to bring the controversy to a head, and to force Glas to state his position explicitly. These Queries, which related to matters such as the power of the civil magistrate within the sphere of religion, the use of the secular arm in the defence of the Church, the nature of the Church, the sanction for national covenanting, the place and authority of the local congregation, the membership of the Church, the qualifications for admission to Communion, the religious education of children, drew from Glas some significant statements. He maintained that as the kingdom of Christ was not of this world, the civil magistrate as such had no authority in the Church; that the kingdom of Christ could not be advanced by earthly power or defended by arms or civil

(1) Appendix to "Narrative", 128.

(2) Ibid., 129-134.

sanctions; that the national Covenants had no warrant in the Word of God, and that all true reformation was the work of the Divine Spirit; that there was no warrant for a National Church under the New Testament, and that the churches of the New Testament were congregational churches; that the members of the visible Church were those whose Christian character was revealed in obedience to the law of Christ; that none should be admitted to Communion without the consent of the congregation, and that the admission of visible unbelievers mars the fellowship; that "A congregation, or Church of Jesus Christ, with its presbytery, is, in its discipline, subject to no jurisdiction under heaven". The last of the original questions ran : "Do you think yourself obliged in conscience, to teach and publish these your opinions, differing from the received doctrine of this Church, unto the people - to which Glas replied, I think myself obliged in conscience to declare every truth of Christ, and keep nothing back, but to speak all the words of this life, and to teach his people to observe all things whatsoever he commands, so far as I can understand; and that, notwithstanding of others their differing from me, and my being exposed to hazard in the declaring of them"⁽¹⁾. The additional query referred to his scruples in renewing his subscription to the Confession of Faith. Glas answered, "I have not freedom to refuse any thing in our Confession, but what relates to the passage already mentioned in the chapter concerning Christian liberty, and liberty of conscience,⁽²⁾ and in the chapter concerning synods".

The queries go to the roots of the differences between the recognised doctrines of the Church and the opinions of Glas. Nothing

(1) Appendix to "Narrative", 134.

(2) Ibid.

is omitted which would leave room for compromise. The answers were frankly stated, leaving no dubiety regarding Glas's views on the matters in dispute.

Glas's wisdom in answering the queries was afterwards questioned by some who sympathised with him. It was said that if he had refused to answer he would have disappointed his enemies and safeguarded his temporal interests. He replied that though no human law obliged him, he felt it his duty to Christ to confess his principles. He regarded the procedure of the Court as illegal, but this did not excuse him from bearing witness to the truth.

The Queries and answers were duly read before the Synod. Ten brethren were deputed to meet Glas and report the result of the interview. Subsequently five ministers ⁽¹⁾ were instructed to consider the grounds upon which Glas was censurable. On their return the Synod reviewed the charges in the light of his own statements, from which it appeared that he had resiled from his early principles and ministerial engagements, and that he still adhered to his errors, refusing to be silent concerning them. Because his opinions "tend to make a rent in the church of Christ and to overturn our constitution", the Synod considered it necessary to proceed to censure. After prayer for Divine guidance, Glas was asked if he had anything further to say before censure was passed. He answered that he could not conscientiously alter what he had already said. The vote showed a majority in favour of suspension until the next ordinary meeting of the Synod. Meantime steps were to be taken to recover Glas from his errors. If the efforts of the Presbytery were successful the suspension was to be relaxed. Mr.

(1) Geo. Wemyss, Jas. Hodge, Jas. Goodsir, Thos. Ayton, Geo. Gillespy.

James Small, minister of Carmyllie, was appointed to preach in Tealing Church on April 28th and to intimate the sentence of suspension. When Glas was called to hear the decision he declared his intention of appealing to the next General Assembly which was to meet in Edinburgh on May 2nd.

The General Assembly took up Glas's appeal on May 11th, 1728. The document consisted of nine pages and expressed his mind on the procedure of the Synod. The appellant takes exception to the way in which the matter was introduced to the Synod at Montrose in October 1727. He points out that it did not come from the Presbytery either by reference or appeal but was the outcome of the discussion on the proposed assertory act relating to the Covenants. He maintains that any process against him should have originated in the Presbytery of which he was a member. Further, he complains of the manner in which information against him was gathered and submitted, and that the Presbytery and correspondents appointed to consider his case exceeded their instructions inasmuch as they had no authority to seek the advice of the Commission of Assembly at the present juncture, and that they had proceeded to make inquiry into his principles instead of investigating the facts. Contrary to law they had demanded a resubscription of the Confession and the Formula. Glas also takes exception to the action at the Synod meeting in Brechin (April 1728) in passing sentence of suspension. No inquiry was made whether the Presbytery had strictly observed their instructions. Little time had been allowed him to prepare answers to the numerous questions, the issue of which was of such great consequence to himself, his security, and his ministry. The sentence

(1) Minutes of Synod, April 18th 1728. "Continuation of Narr.", 147-150. (2) Willison's impressions may be gathered from a letter dated Apr. 22nd 1728. Vide "Edin. Xtn. Instructor", xxvi, 98-100.

of suspension had been hastily decided, without any real effort to convince him of error. The animus against him was shown by the threat of procedure against one minister who dissented from the judgment unless he withdrew his dissent. These considerations the (1) appellant offers to the Assembly as a justification for this appeal to the highest Court of the Church in the hope that the sentence may be reversed. He submits that neither the law of Christ nor the law of the Church warrants the sentence of the Synod. He does not disown the legal Establishment, believing it to have other sanctions than a foundation in the Word of God, and he has no desire to see it altered or changed. Further, he cannot see that the standing acts, rules, customs of the Church warrant the sentence. He is not satisfied that the rules demand a resubscription of the Confession and the Formula. He points out that the Episcopalian clergy remained in the National Church after the Revolution Settlement, yet were not suspended or deposed on account of the principles to which they still adhered.

Such was the substance of Glas's appeal, which was accompanied by a petition from the elders, deacons, and parishoners of Tealing expressing esteem for their minister, testifying to his success in improving the spiritual state of the community, and declaring the sorrow and apprehension of the people in being deprived of the ministrations of their devoted pastor. The petitioners craved that the Assembly would give consideration to the needs and desires of the parishoners by removing the sentence against Mr. Glas and restoring him to his ministry among them.

The Assembly authorised the Commission to deal with the case. (2)

(1) "Con. Narrative", 150-159.

(2) "Acts of Assembly", May 11th 1728 (Index).

On May 18th Mr. Glas with two of his elders, David Gray and Thomas Wallace, appeared before the Commission in support of the appeal, while representatives of the Synod were present in defence of the sentence. After the various documents had been read and discussed the Commission appointed a committee of thirteen ministers and two ruling elders to meet with Mr. Glas and in the event of an unsatisfactory issue to present an overture to the Commission. On May 20th the Commission took up the matter. The parties were called and heard, and after discussion the committee was re-appointed to make another effort with Mr. Glas. The report was received the following day. After prolonged consideration a vote was taken whether the Synod's sentence should be confirmed or turned into a prohibition. The continuance of the suspension carried, but a number of brethren were deputed to hold further conference with Mr. Glas. Glas, however, intimated that he was unable to stay longer in Edinburgh, and it was left with himself to inform the Clerk of Assembly when it would be convenient for him to meet the deputation.⁽¹⁾

On the evening of the day when the suspension was confirmed Glas wrote in his diary, "While the vote was passing, I could not tell which of the two (suspension or prohibition) I should choose. I desired to reverence the Providence, and thought that it appeared to be the design of Providence, that I should not continue in this church, but, being thus thrust out, I might have liberty to follow the institution of Christ, which I now saw they would not allow me to follow, and live at peace, and preach among them. What will be the issue, He only knows who has all power in heaven and in earth. My mind was kept from rankling against my enemies, and was more

(1) Attested copy of Act of Commission in "Con. Narr.", 159-164.

light and easy after this determination of the commission; and I⁽¹⁾ saw nothing from the word of God to hinder me going on to preach".

The committee of the Synod met at Dundee on June 11th when information was supplied that Mr. Glas had ignored the sentence of⁽²⁾ suspension by preaching both at Tealing and in neighbouring parishes. As Glas was not present a letter was sent requesting his attendance at a meeting on July 30th. He duly appeared, and after discussion it was resolved to refer the matter to the Commission. Glas protested that the committee was not authorised to take any such step, and also that as it lacked a quorum it was unable to act. He further pointed out that, wanting a quorum, the meeting could not adjourn. In spite of this objection it was arranged to meet on August 7th,⁽³⁾ and Glas was cited to attend. On this date the summons and the citation were declared to be in order. Glas did not appear, but⁽⁴⁾ wrote a letter renewing his objection to the validity of the previous meeting, adding that he felt no obligation to attend. He requested that, if it were decided to proceed, the committee should not consider any new accusation without first giving him notice. It was decided, however, to consider the points in Glas's answers which had not been judged at the Synod, his irregular practices on Sacramental occasions, and the relative matters contained in his recently published "A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the⁽⁵⁾ Controversy about the National Covenants".

The following day (August 8th) the sub-committee considered Mr. Glas's answers to some of the Queries (Nos. 3, 4, 6, 9), which

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- (1) "An Account of Mr. John Glas", xxix.
(2) "... as soon as he went home he preached & broke the sentence of suspension, & resolved, it seems to breake all squares with the Church, and set up upon his own leggs on the Independent way", Wodrow, "Analecta" (June 1728), IV, 3.
(3) "Con. Narr.", 169. (4) Ibid., 169-170.
(5) Printed at Edinburgh, 1728.

they found contrary to the Confession of Faith. With respect to the other matters remitted to the committee they decided not to proceed but to overture the committee to "request the presbytery of Dundee to consider Mr. Glas's practices in contemning the sentence of the church against him, form a libel thereon, lead probation thereof, and have that affair ripe against the meeting of the synod"⁽¹⁾. This report was presented to the committee in the first week of September, and was duly approved. The committee felt that there was no obligation to hold further conference with Mr. Glas, but "ex super abundante" graciously offered to meet with him, provided he would undertake to submit to the sentence and maintain silence until the conference came to a desirable issue. Glas replied that he was still open to receive light, but that he objected to a defect in the remarks of the committee upon his answers⁽²⁾.

Meanwhile the Commission of Assembly, which met in Edinburgh on August 14th, had received the report of its own committee appointed to meet Mr. Glas. It was stated that one member had received a letter from Glas stating that he was determined to continue his ministry, but was ready to receive such light as the Commission could give. The committee replied that though his disobedience to the sentence made its removal impossible, it was willing to confer with him. To this letter Mr. Glas had returned no answer. The Commission approved of the committee's action and resolved to instruct the Presbytery, the Synod, and the committee to proceed according to the rules of the Church.

The case came before the Presbytery of Dundee on September 5th and occupied its attention for more than a month. The Presbytery

(1) "Con. Narrative", 172.

took up the overture from the committee of the Synod regarding Mr. Glas's conduct following his suspension. Asked if he had complied with the sentence, Glas answered that he considered the matter as one which must properly begin at the Synod, but if the Presbytery intended to proceed the facts must be cleared according to the rules of the Church. Eventually the Presbytery proceeded to draw up the libel, the substance of which was, that after suspension from the exercise of his ministry by the Synod, which sentence was later confirmed by the Commission of Assembly, Mr. Glas had continued to preach and administer the Sacraments on various occasions both in his own parish of Tealing and in other places, mostly in private houses in neighbouring parishes, for which contravention he deserved censure.⁽¹⁾ A copy of the libel with a list of witnesses was signed by the Clerk to be delivered to Mr. Glas with a summons to appear before the Presbytery on the 18th inst. A summons was also issued to the witnesses, and the Presbyteries of Brechin, Forfar, Arbroath, and Meigle, were invited to send correspondents to give advice in the affair of Mr. Glas.

The Presbytery met on the appointed date, and there were also present three representatives each from the Presbyteries of Meigle and Forfar. Glas stated that he had prepared answers to the libel, but requested that Mr. George Miller,⁽²⁾ Town-clerk of Perth, might be allowed to represent him. The request was granted. Mr. Miller was a skilful lawyer, quick to take advantage of fine legal points. An error in the form of the libel giving May 11th instead of May 21st as the date of the Commission's sentence was offered as an objection invalidating the libel. To prevent cavil

(1) "Con. Narrative", 181.

(2) Mr. Miller was afterwards a prominent elder in the Glasite community.

on this head the Presbytery agreed not to proceed upon the contempt of the Commission, except as Mr. Glas himself admitted. Mr. Miller intimated that reasons for his protest would be furnished by Mr. Glas in due time, whereupon a committee was appointed to answer the reasons when handed in.

Requested to return answers to the libel Glas read a lengthy paper containing his objections. First he dealt with the matter of the libel, and second with the manner in which it was proposed to prove it. Reviewing the charge of contempt of the sentences of the Synod and the Commission, he admitted that sentence of suspension had been passed. He did not profess to be well versed in ecclesiastical law, but he maintained that the rules of the Church should be founded upon the Word of God. In this case there was no foundation for the sentences which he was charged with contravening. Even if it could be shown (which would not be easy) that suspension was an ordinance of Christ, and that an ecclesiastical Court had Christ's authority to inflict censure, it would still be necessary to make sure that the sentence contravened was in accordance with the mind of Christ as revealed in His Word. The ground of the sentence was that he had fallen into errors inconsistent with his ministerial vows, which errors were confessed in his answers to the Queries, and that he had declined to cease expressing his opinions. Yet none of the Courts had proved that his opinions were erroneous, or made any attempt to convince him of error. Even the Commission of Assembly, which had confirmed the Synod's sentence, admitted that sufficient means had not been used to convince him, and had appointed a committee for this purpose, but this committee had since de-

clined to meet. Some members of the Synod's committee had conversed with him for an hour or so, but they could scarcely profess that this was adequate. They had since declared that his answers to the Queries were inconsistent with the Word of God and the Confession, but when asked to justify their charge they had refused, saying that the inconsistency was obvious. Moreover, they themselves must admit that the so-called errors were extra-fundamental. Granted they were errors, it could not be shown that Christ had authorised the suspension of a minister on such account, for He had not promised that ministers should be free from error. He (Glas) was not aware that he was among a company of ministers who either claimed or expected infallibility, though it almost appeared as if they were grasping at it. Until the Presbytery were convinced that they had Divine authority to inhibit him on account of error he hoped that they would not consider the Synod's sentence warranted by the Word of God.

Further, the sentence was apparently not a prohibition against his proclaiming supposed errors, but of the exercise of his ministry altogether. If a minister might be excluded from a church, he does not see that the instances of religious exercises in private houses or conventicles could be construed as contempt and contravention of ecclesiastical authority, or that his services to his old parishoners in the church at Tealing, which was not occupied by any other authorised teacher, could be so regarded. If the sentence involved such a prohibition as was assumed by the libel, it was not only unwarranted by the Word of God but also entirely contrary to the mind of Christ who on one occasion had reproved His disciples for forbidding another man to "cast out devils" in His Name. It was a grave responsibility

to forbid a messenger of Christ to speak in His Name. He did not impute such injustice to all the ministers either in the Synod or in the Church, for the sentence had been carried by a small majority in the face of strong opposition, now would he blame all the members of the Presbytery of Dundee, many of whom had all along shown him great forbearance. This was the first time that the Presbytery had been authorised to act alone, and only a few had taken part in framing the libel. He desired not to entertain prejudice against any who had acted in this affair. He knew that some of them were good men whose conduct was conscientious, but he ventured to utter a warning against the rise and growth of the persecuting spirit which could not tolerate any difference of opinion. The fact that he himself differed from others on certain points, or that his views in minor matters might be erroneous, was not sufficient ground for forbidding him to minister, or to loose him from his duty to Christ who had called him to this ministry. Was he to pay heed to men or to obey God? He trusted that the authority of Christ would always count for more than the authority and prestige of any Church. The Presbytery had now an opportunity of maintaining the authority of Christ against human authority and spiritual tyranny which would place bonds upon Christian ministers and people. As the case was one of grave import, he craved that the whole Presbytery, not merely one party within it, would judge the matter.

Respecting the manner in which it was proposed to prove the libel by means of witnesses, it must be apparent that such witnesses would involve themselves in the charge of contemning the authority of the Courts, for they had attended his supposedly il-

legal ministry. He knew of no law which required a witness to incriminate himself, therefore he hoped the Presbytery would not place the witnesses in such an invidious position.

These answers received consideration but the Presbytery decided, "uno tantum contradicente", to sustain the libel. Glas protested and asked that his answers might be entered in the records as a permanent memorial of his regard for Divine authority rather than for the authority of men. Mr. Miller observed that the several instances of contempt and contravention were jointly libelled, that the libel as a whole had been found relevant "separatim" to infer censure if proven, and he protested that, unless the proof to be adduced amounted to a full and legal probation of all and every one of the instances cited, the libel could not be declared proven. Asked to confess the libel if true, Glas answered that he felt under no obligation to acknowledge the facts therein mentioned.

The Presbytery had great difficulty in securing the presence of the witnesses who showed themselves unwilling to appear against Mr. Glas. The proceedings were delayed again and again owing to their failure to respond to the summons. Ultimately the Presbytery was obliged to request the magistrates to compel the attendance of the persons cited. After two postponements the case was resumed on September 23rd. Glas protested against the calling in of the civil authority, maintaining that "the forcing of witnesses to depone in this circumstantiate case is a thing beyond all law, divine and human; and therefore the application of the presbytery to the magistrate in this case, was every way unwarrantable".⁽¹⁾

(1) "Con. Narrative", 206.

When the roll was called fifteen persons responded. Asked if he had any objection to raise against the six witnesses who were first taken, Glas restated what he had previously said, that the witnesses were being asked to give evidence against themselves as voluntary attenders upon his ministrations, and that there was no law to oblige persons to depone in such circumstances. The objection was disallowed and the Presbytery proceeded to examine the witnesses. Most of those called refused to depone, but four persons testified to having heard Mr. Glas preach since the month of May. One of the Tealing parishoners, James Constable, a mason, said that he had heard Mr. Glas in Tealing church but could not remember the date. Andrew Brown, cordiner in Dundee, and James Halyburton, merchant in the same town, had heard him on a fast-day occasion at Fowlis in July. George Yeaman, another Dundee merchant, admitted having been present in September at a meeting held in the house of Bailie Lyon in Dundee when Mr. Glas preached. The following day (September 24th) Bailie Lyon was called, but he said he had conscientious scruples about giving evidence which might tend to the "quenching a great light in the corner" and injuring one whom the Lord had signally owned in his ministry.⁽¹⁾ The Presbytery repudiated any intention to "quench a light" and declared that Bailie Lyon, as an elder of the Church, was in duty bound to assist and obey a Court of the Church, but the Bailie replied that his scruple remained. His wife, Elizabeth Wardroper, likewise refused to depone, stating that she "reckoned Mr. Glas as much a minister of the Lord Jesus as any here, and therefore could do nothing that might have a tendency to deprive him of his ministry". Others who were cited refused in similar terms.

(1) "Con. Narrative", 210.

The examination of witnesses was resumed on October 9th. Twenty-two persons appeared, but not one could be induced to depone, most of them definitely stating that they could not conscientiously say anything to the disadvantage of Mr. Glas whom they respected and regarded as a faithful minister of Christ. Their refusal created a difficult situation for the Presbytery. Consequently it was decided to refer the matter to the forthcoming meeting of the Synod. Mr. Miller's protest with full objections to the procedure was received, and a committee was appointed to report to the Presbytery concurrently with the meeting of Synod.⁽¹⁾

The Synod met in Dundee on October 15th when permission was granted for Mr. Miller to assist Mr. Glas in the process before the Court. On the following day the Synod called for the report of the committee previously appointed to confer with Mr. Glas. Glas requested the Court to determine whether or not the committee had adequately fulfilled their instructions, inasmuch as they had failed to prove that his propositions were inconsistent with the Word of God. The Synod found that the instructions had been carried out. The committee of bills presented a report to the effect that:⁽²⁾

"There was given in to the committee, 1, Petition from the Presbytery of Dundee and correspondents, anent Mr. Glas's affair. 2, Extract of the proceedings, &c. 3, Reasons of protest Mr. Glas against the presbytery and correspondents. 4, Mr. Glas's answers to the libel, &c. 5, Mr. Miller's reasons of protest in favour of Mr. Glas. 6, The presbytery's answers to the foresaid papers".

The committee transmitted the papers "simpliciter". After the report had been read, seven brethren with the correspondents were instructed to confer with Mr. Glas to see if there was any possibility of his recovery, while other members were deputed to consider what grounds there were for future censure. There were also read

(1) "Con. Narrative", 223.

(2) Ibid., 226.

extracts of the sentence passed by the previous Synod, the continuance of the suspension by the Commission of Assembly dated August 15th. An overture that in view of Mr. Glas's attitude to the appointment of a committee to meet with him, the said committee be recalled was defeated. Glas remarked that he could not understand the appointment of a committee for the purpose of reclaiming him, while at the same time another committee was authorised to draw up the grounds of further censure. He added that the time allowed, one night, was inadequate, and also that there was a likelihood of the situation becoming aggravated rather than improved. The Synod gave him his choice whether or not he would meet the committee, but he preferred to leave the decision with the Synod. As it appeared that he was not favourably disposed to the committee the proposal was dropped.

When the Court met on October 17th a résumé of the case from
(1)
the beginning was presented by the committee of the Synod:

The Synod of October 1727 had appointed a committee to confer with Mr. Glas on certain disputed points in order to avoid a public process, but no satisfaction having been received the Presbytery of Dundee and correspondents were authorised to institute a process against him. At the Synod held at Brechin in April 1728 the report of the Presbytery was received and approved. The Presbytery had sought the advice of the Commission of Assembly, as a result of which Mr. Glas was required to re-subscribe the Confession of Faith and the Formula of 1711, or declare his adherence to his former subscription. A number of queries had been put to him, to which he had returned answers and expressed his readiness to receive light. The Synod appointed a committee to draw up the grounds on which Mr. Glas was censurable. These grounds were:-

- 1, That Mr. Glas asserted that there was no foundation in the word of God for the government of this national church.
- 2, That he refused to subscribe the Confession of Faith owing to his doubts respecting the magistrate's power 'circa sacra', and the passage anent liberty of conscience and synods.
- 3, That he maintained that the Old Testament examples did not furnish a warrant for magistrates acting for the reformation of religion and the suppression of false worship.

(1) The summary which follows is based upon the statement in Glas's "Continuation of Narrative", 229-231.

4, That he held that the kingly office of David and his successors was ecclesiastical.

5, That he asserted that there was no warrant for covenanting in the word of God.

6, That he held there was no authority in the New Testament for a national church, and that a single congregation with its presbytery was in discipline subject to no jurisdiction under heaven.

7, That he regarded it as unwarrantable to take parents engaged to educate their children, when baptised, according to the Confession of Faith.

On account of these grounds the Synod had suspended Mr. Glas from the exercise of his ministry until the next meeting of Synod in October. The sentence was declared not to be adequate to the errors with which he was charged, and the Synod reserved its power to proceed to further censure if Mr. Glas remained obstinate. A committee was appointed to deal with him and consider the other points of the process.

This report, containing the résumé, was duly approved. It appeared from the report that Mr. Glas had not retracted the errors with which he was charged, and that there was no ground of hope that he was likely to be reclaimed.

The committee proceeded to consider the reference from the Presbytery to the Synod, the extract of the confirmation of suspension by the Commission of Assembly, and that of the Act of Commission, August 1728, declaring the cause remitted to the Presbytery and Synod. These papers showed: 1) that Mr. Glas had informed one of the members of the Commission in a letter that he was still exercising his ministry and intended to continue to do so; 2) that he had endeavoured to justify his contempt of the first sentence; 3) that the depositions of the witnesses had proved that on various occasions since his suspension in April, Mr. Glas had publicly preached. The committee also thought that he had taken great pains to influence many of the witnesses not to give evidence.

The committee's report was again read before the Synod and compared with the papers of the process and with the Confession of

Faith. It was found that not only had Mr. Glas refused to retract the errors of which he had been previously convicted, but that he also held other errors contrary to the Confession and the Scriptures therein referred to, particularly 1) that the religion of Christ cannot be defended by arms (vide Answer to Query 3) - contra Conf. xxiii, 2; 2) that the civil encouragement given by the magistrate respects his good subjects as such (Answer to Query 6) - contra Conf. xx, 4, xxiii, 1, 2, 3; 3) that the magistrate can punish none who carry as good subjects (Answer to Query 8) - contra Conf. xx. 4, xxiii, 2, 3 .

The Synod now proceeded to vote whether the suspension be continued and the case referred again to the Commission of Assembly, or that the Court proceed to further censure. The latter was carried. ⁽¹⁾ When Glas was called in and asked if he had anything further to say, he replied that he was ready to receive the sentence whatever it might be. The charge was accepted by the Court as proven. Asked if he would consent to suspend preaching until further conference, Glas stated his unwillingness to give the undertaking. So in accordance with an Act of Assembly, August 5th 1648 : "If any suspended minister, during his suspension, exercise any part of his ministerial calling, that he be deposed, the Synod proceeded to take the final step. The matter being put, deposition carried. "And therefore the Synod did, and hereby do, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the alone King and head of the Church, and by virtue of the power and authority committed by him to them, actually depose the said Mr. John Glas from the office of the holy ministry, prohibiting and discharging him to exercise the same, or any part thereof, in all

(1) "Con. Narr.", 234.

(1)
time coming, under the pain of the highest censures of the Church".

The sentence of deposition was by no means unanimously approved. Among the dissentients were James Marr, minister of Murroes, William Lyon, minister of Airlie, George Fleming, minister of Lundie and Fowlis, and William Thomson, minister of Strathmartine, who later presented their reasons for dissent.

When Glas was called to hear the sentence he stated that he was convinced that the Synod had no warrant from the Lord Jesus Christ for this sentence and so could not act in His name and authority. He disavowed any intention of contempt of authority, but in obedience to Christ he was resolved to continue his ministry. Further, he intimated his appeal to the next General Assembly.

A protest was handed in signed by four elders of Tealing church who said that they could not regard the relation of pastor and people as "in the least measure loosed", and that they were determined to adhere to Mr. Glas's ministry. Several others associated themselves with this protest. These included Francis Archibald, minister of Guthrie, and George Miller, Town-clerk of Perth, who said that he represented many dissentients both in Tealing and in other parishes. The Court determined that only the parishoners of Tealing had a direct interest in the matter, therefore their names alone should be inserted in the records.

The following day the four ministers who had given notice presented their grounds of dissent : 1. The manner in which the answers

(1) "Con. Narr.", 235.

(2) Ibid., 236-237.

(3) Archibald added: "Though I think myself obliged to have a very tender sympathy with my brother Mr. Glas under the troubles he, by virtue of the said sentence, may be laid open to, yet I think the synod, who have passed the same, and all that have either more expressly, or by their silence, implicitly approved thereof, are more to be pitied". "Con. Narr.", 238.

(4) The full protest is printed in "Con. Narr.", 240-241.

to the Queries had been extracted and used as grounds for the suspension and later the deposition of Mr. Glas; 2. The failure to take sufficient pains and allow sufficient time in endeavouring to reclaim Mr. Glas; 3. That in an unprecedented case like this the Synod ought to have referred it to a superior Court; 4. The injurious consequences which may arise in the district most closely affected; 5. That the charge of contumacy was not fully and clearly proven; 6. That the sentence was passed by a comparatively small number of the members of Synod, there being many abstentions from
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voting.

(1) Dr. Adam Philip remarks, "It must be said that their reasons of dissent are somewhat startling, and detract seriously from the moral sanction of the sentence". "The Evangel in Gowrie", 194.

SECTION 5 : THE FINAL STAGES OF THE PROCESS
IN THE CHURCH COURTS

Glas lost no time in formulating his appeal to the highest Court of the Church, intimation of which he had made immediately sentence of deposition had been passed by the Synod. The two documents in which his appeal was contained are dated respectively October 25th and 26th, 1728, a little more than a week after his deposition. Nearly eighteen months, however, were to elapse before the case was finally decided. Glas had many friends and sympathisers, not only in Angus but throughout Scotland, some of whom lent him strong support. Moreover, there was reluctance on the part of the leaders of the Church to proceed to extreme measures against a highly respected minister. The appeal was taken up by the General Assembly of May 1729 and referred to the Commission of Assembly, as was also the appeal of Mr. Francis Archibald of Guthrie who had likewise been deposed by the Synod of Angus and Mearns on grounds similar to those upon which sentence had been pronounced upon his friend and colleague,
(1)
John Glas.

Glas's appeal urged that as the sentence of the Synod was the first of its kind in the history of the National Church it was too great a responsibility for the Synod to assume without reference to the superior Court, and that the whole process had been carried through in an unusual way with many defects in the procedure.

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- (1) Acts of Assembly, May 5th 1729 : "The Petition of Mr. John Glas, late minister at Tealing, who had been deposed by the Synod of Angus and Mearns is moved and his case committed".
Acts of Assembly, May 12th 1729 : "The case of Mr. Francis Archibald, late minister at Guthrie, who was deposed by the Synod of Angus and Mearns is remitted to the Committee concerning Mr. John Glas. The consideration of the case of Mr. John Glas and Mr. Francis Archibald is referred to the Commission with power to determine therein as they shall find just".

The appellant desires to be satisfied : 1, If there be any law of the Church for a process upon error by inquisition; or, 2) if there be a law for deposing ministers of the Congregational way; 3) if there be any rule for requiring resubscription of the Confession and Formula, and excluding anyone, against whom no fundamental error or serious misconduct can be charged, who refuses to resubscribe; 4) if the Protesters who were deposed, yet continued to exercise their ministry, were not held to be ministers of this Church after the Revolution; 5) if in view of these grounds the laws of the Church warrant a sentence of deposition, except for neglect of duty, scandalous living, erroneous teaching, or contumacy. As negligence and scandalous living are not charged against him, he would like to know "if he be tried and purged out as erroneous by due course of ecclesiastical process, or if he has been contumacious in not appearing"⁽¹⁾.

The appellant further expresses his conviction that the sentence against him is unwarranted by the Word of God and contrary to the authority of Jesus Christ. He believes that such a sentence is without precedent in the National Church, that a minister should be deposed merely on account of opinions which do not affect fundamental truths but which happen to be different from those of his brethren with whom he desires to live in charity. He holds that the difference between the National Presbyterian system and the Congregational order is quite consistent with Christian charity and mutual forbearance. As the prosecution has been pursued in a manner not conformable to the established rules of procedure, and the sentence of deposition by the Synod was passed despite the disapproval and dissent

(1) "Con. Narr.", 247.

on many influential members of Synod and Presbytery, he thinks him-⁽¹⁾
self entitled to seek redress from the Supreme Court of the Church.

Wodrow states that when the Commission met Glas was present and
that the affair was sub-committed to some of the prominent leaders
of the Church about Edinburgh, who, he remarks, "seem to favour him"⁽²⁾.
Wodrow had no sympathy with Glas and was very impatient with those
who espoused his cause. He considered that the support of leading
men, like Professor William Hamilton⁽³⁾, only encouraged Glas to con-
tinue in his obduracy: "He seems buyed up with the hope of being
protected by leading men, and that keeps him from all temper. He goes
to preach publickly everywhere, and disseminat his principle. This
is grievous to the Ministers of that country. However the matter is
still put off from time to time, and his affair is referred to the
Commission in March"⁽⁴⁾. Writing to Mr. Hugh Maxwell six months later
(Feb. 11th 1730) Wodrow expresses his impatience at "the delays and
off-puts in the matter of Mr. Glass", and gives it as his opinion
that "your Synod ought to be supported in what they have done, and
our discipline preserved. The soft measures we are running fast
into, in processes with ministers, will be improven to disadvantages
in other cases", and he proceeds to entertain the Minister of Forfar
to spicy gossip which he has heard respecting the novelties Glas has
introduced among his followers⁽⁵⁾.

On March 11th 1730 Mr. Glas appeared before the Commission of
Assembly to whom he delivered a lengthy speech in which he sought to
explain wherein he differed from the National Church⁽⁶⁾. This difference,

(1) "Con. Narr.", 241-252.

(2) "Analecta", IV, 71.

(3) Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh University.

(4) "Analecta", IV, 71.

(5) "Correspondence", III, 458, 460.

(6) Glas's "Works", I, 275-286.

he said, went no further than the Word of God, as he understood it, obliged him to go. The grounds of the condemnation from which he appealed may be summed up under three heads :

1) His refusal to subscribe the Formula, because he could not see that the government of the National Church by Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, was founded upon the Word of God.

2) His refusal to subscribe certain passages in the Confession of Faith relating to the magistrate's power 'circa sacra', and liberty of conscience with some relative propositions maintained by him.

3) His exercise of the ministerial office after he had been forbidden on the said grounds.

Glas proceeded to defend his views by numerous references to the Scriptures, and re-affirmed the positions which he had taken up on previous occasions as well as in his answers to the Queries.

With respect to the third ground of condemnation, viz. contumacy, he expressed surprise that this was considered the most serious charge, and that contumacy was more censurable than the maintenance of Congregational principles. There was nothing in what was called his contumacy but what was the outcome of his views. Consequently, if such principles did not merit censure, the person who held and practised them was less censurable than one who believed but did not practise them. If the grounds upon which he was forbidden to preach were insufficient, how could a sentence based upon these same reasons excuse him from fulfilling his obligation to the law of Christ? Unless the grounds of deposition could be shown to accord with the Word of God and the Confession

of Faith, he did not see how the alleged contumacy could be regarded as an evil, for ^Rsuely it was not an evil to disobey a command obliging him to transgress the laws of Christ!

The case aroused much interest. Both opponents and sympathisers were well represented at the session. "The ministers of Angus", says Wodrow, "wer well conveened, and had taken pains to gather the members of the Commission"⁽¹⁾. Professor Hamilton stood foremost in defence of Glas, and, according to Wodrow, several of the "Marrow Brethren" in the Synod of Merse, Mr. Gabriel Wilson of Maxton, Mr. Thomas Boston of Ettrick, and Mr. Henry Davidson of Galashiels, influenced by Hamilton, had spoken strongly against the action of the Synod of Angus, while "the flaming Instructions from the Presbytery of Jedburgh, they say, wer drauen up by Mr. Ricarton,⁽²⁾ the author of 'The Sober Enquiry' and 'The Politicall Disputant',⁽³⁾ who is thought to favour the Marrou". The Brethren from the Merse differed in this matter from the "Marrow" men in Fife who were strongly opposed to Glas on account of his attitude to the Covenants and the National Establishment. Wodrow, writing at the time, thinks that this difference may "be the occasion of a coldness among the Marrou bretheren" and may even create division in the ranks of the "Twelve Representers"⁽⁴⁾.

The case of Mr. Glas furnishes some curious instances of the interaction of parties. We find friends and colleagues taking different sides in the dispute, while sometime opponents were at one on this particular issue. Among the Marrow Brethren Gabriel Wilson, Thomas Boston, and Henry Davidson were opposed to the deposition of

(1) "Analecta", IV, 111.

(2) Robert Riccaltoun of Hobkirk.

(3) "Analecta", IV, 126.

(4) Ibid., 126, 135.

Glas, whereas James Hog and the Erskines were in favour of severe measures. Professor William Hamilton and James Smith, both men of liberal views, ranged themselves on opposite sides in the discussions. Among the Scottish Churchmen of the day, Hamilton takes a leading place. Already he had occupied the Moderator's Chair four times and was shortly, at the forthcoming Assembly in May, to be elected for a fifth period. It is very unlikely that he had any deep sympathy with Glas's peculiar views, but he was even less in sympathy with the effort to drive out of the Church of Scotland a man of earnest spirit and independent judgment like John Glas, His championship of Glas was supported by the party which looked upon him as leader, but it was not strong enough to overcome the influence of the ministers of Angus and of James Smith who had lined themselves against Glas. Smith had no love for the extreme Covenanting party, for during his Moderatorship in 1723, when a member of Assembly had spoken of "our Covenanted work of Reformation", he had declared from the Chair "that the Church was not now upon that footing"⁽¹⁾. It is impossible to analyse the motives which induced men to take sides in the case of Glas, but the division of opinion was clearly marked not only in the Commission but also in the Church generally.

The discussion in the Commission was keen and protracted. Among other reasons urged by Hamilton in favour of a lenient policy was the offence which an adverse decision might give to the Independent brethren in England, but, says Wodrow, "After his keenest reasoning, he could not get his friends in England gratified"⁽²⁾. In spite of the fact that many members strongly reasoned against

(1) John Howie, Preface to Shields's "Faithful Contendings", (1780), p. x, Note.
(2) "Analecta", IV, 187.

deposition, and afterwards voted against it, the Commission on March 12th decided to confirm the sentence of the Synod of Angus and Mearns. Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the Lord Advocate, pleaded on behalf of Glas and craved indulgence for a minister of high character and conspicuous ability. Some who voted for deposition had spoken in favour of accepting a voluntary demission of his charge by Glas without deposing him from the ministry altogether, but to this proposal the representatives of the Synod strongly objected. On a vote being taken, it carried 'simpliciter' that Mr. John Glas be deposed from the office of the ministry. The vote was very close, Wodrow states, "and came within six or seven"⁽¹⁾. He also remarks that "Mr. Glass's deposition was carried out by Mr. Smith's interest in the Commission, contrary to Pr. Hamiltoun"⁽²⁾.

Sentence was accordingly pronounced, the grounds for which were that in contravention of his vows when licensed and ordained to adhere to the doctrines and principles of the National Church, 1) he had departed from the said doctrines and principles in several particulars and had admitted doctrines and tenets directly opposed to those of the Church, to which he held tenaciously, refusing to be silent concerning them, and had impugned the doctrines and principles of the Church at the bar of the Commission; 2) he had continued, in contempt of the judicatories of the Church, to exercise his ministry after being suspended and later deposed therefrom, and had followed divisive and schismatical courses by setting up one meeting-house in the parish of Tealing and another in the town of Dundee, and by preaching and baptising in various parishes endeavoured to make proselytes, which charge Mr. Glas had not denied,

(1) "Analecta", IV, 111.
(2) Ibid., 262.

(1)
though such courses tended to promote disorder and division.
In his "Remarks on the Sentence of the Commission", published
shortly afterwards, Glas states that though expressed in such a
way as to appear as little different as possible from the sentence
of the Synod, the sentence of the Commission was not a confirmation
of it but a new decision. He goes on to say "And the grounds of
the sentence, which were not intimated to me when the sentence
was intimated, but drawn up afterward, are so generally expressed,
that it cannot easily be known of how great or small importance
(2)
these errors are upon which they founded the sentence".

Whether regarded as a confirmation or a new decision, the
Commission's action in deposing Glas from the ministry brought to
an end a case which had troubled the ecclesiastical Courts for
more than three years. That there was reluctance to resort to
extreme measures is shown by the repeated attempts to induce Mr.
Glas either to retract or cease from proclaiming opinions which
were inconsistent with his position as a minister of the Church
of Scotland. Glas ascribes the responsibility for the Commission's
act to those who were "concerned to shew zeal for the national
covenants" and who, unable to effect their purpose themselves,
managed to secure the support of others whose interest was to
gratify them in this matter. (3)
He complains that some who had helped
to frame the proposal of a voluntary demission afterwards voted
for deposition, and bitterly remarks, "Thus politicians fear not
to play their tricks about such a holy thing as the ministry of
the gospel of Christ is", adding, "I shall not deny, but there
were men of very different ways in many things, and upon different

(1) "Remarks on the Sentence" appended "Con. Narr.", 339 ff.

(2) Ibid., 341.

(3) Ibid., 338-339.

views concurring in this deed against me; but all of them in this thing, were one way or another influenced by the spirit of per-
secution⁽¹⁾". He concludes his "Remarks" by saying that he hopes he will "be enabled heartily to pray that it may not be laid to the
charge of any one person that has acted in it"⁽²⁾, and takes to him-
self the words of Dr. John Owen, "Whilst I have an uncontrollable
faithful witness, that I transgress no limits prescribed in the
word, that I do not willingly break or dissolve any unity of the
institution of Jesus Christ, my mind as to this thing is filled
with perfect peace"⁽³⁾.

There was undoubtedly a small party antagonistic to Glas who were determined to use all means to secure his condemnation, and their antagonism increased as the case proceeded. Dr. Leslie Thompson thinks that the encounter between Glas and Willison at Strathmartine was "no accident, but according to the planning of his opponents. Had they not found this opportunity of making Glas declare himself and so furnish material for a charge before the
Church Courts, they would have found another"⁽⁴⁾. Ecclesiastical controversy cannot be carried on for any length of time without creating and strengthening personal animosities. But the great majority in the Church of Scotland were unwilling to take drastic action against one whom, in spite of his doctrinal and ecclesiastical aberrations, they held in high esteem as a man of integrity and earnestness. Had it not been for his combativeness, which made his enemies all the more persistent, Glas might have been allowed to remain unmolested by the ecclesiastical authorities. He was

(1) "Remarks on the Sentence", 339.

(2) Ibid, 351.

(3) Owen, "On Schism" : "Works" (ed. Goold), XIII, 205.

(4) G.L.S. Thompson, "The Origins of Congregationalism in Scotland", 93.

a born controversialist and a doughty fighter, and showed his determination to wage the conflict to the bitter end. He himself admits that he foresaw what would be the outcome of the controversy, yet he was not prepared to save both the Church and himself much anxiety and trouble by quietly withdrawing his connection. He claims that his views were not inconsistent with the position he held in a National and comprehensive Church, but it is difficult to understand why he clung so tenaciously to an institution which he regarded as having no foundation in the Word of God which he professed to be his final standard of faith and practice. In principle he was an out-and-out Independent, and his continuance in a National Presbyterian Church necessarily involved a compromise and must have eventually led to anomalies likely to injure both the Church of Scotland and himself. He could not carry out his Congregational principles without coming into conflict with Presbyterian order and procedure. Had he remained in the National Church he would have caused much trouble and perplexity to the ecclesiastical Courts, for his disposition was such that he could not have pursued his course in an unobtrusive and quiet way. As a married man with a growing family he may be excused for his reluctance to renounce his emoluments, but when the issue was forced upon him he was prepared to make any sacrifice rather than deny his convictions. Such a man can hardly be called a coward, for he never attempted to hide his principles- rather he lost no opportunity of proclaiming them.

It may be doubted, however, if the Commission would have deposed Glas merely on account of his Congregational views. At this time the old antipathies between Presbytery and Independency, which

were so marked during the Seventeenth Century, had almost died out, and there was considerable friendliness between the Scottish Presbyterians and the English Independents. Theologically they occupied much the same ground, and their writings were mutually appreciated. But it has to be remembered that Independency as a system of Church order had no place in Scotland at this time. The attempts which had previously been made to establish it had failed. Congregationalism was regarded in the North as something distinctively English, and it was not anticipated that it would ever be replanted in Scotland. Strictly speaking, Glas was the "Father of Scottish Congregationalism", but he had no connection whatever with Independency in the South, though there are not lacking indications that his thought had been influenced by the writings of Dr. John Owen, the great Independent divine of the previous century. His practices if not his theories, especially if they led others to follow his example, were bound to arouse opposition. But there was no desire to renew the controversy with Congregationalism as such. Glas's personal opinions and sympathies might have been overlooked had he shown himself amenable to the wishes of the Courts of the Church. Many were disposed to do this. Their attitude is reflected in Wodrow's letter to Hugh Maxwell already referred to. Writing a month before Glas's case came before the Commission, Wodrow suggests that the Synod may have considered the inadvisability of deposing a man from the ministry merely on account of his Congregational principles and thereby giving offence to "our brethren of these sentiments in England and New England": "Even as to your (the Synod's) sentence, if I have not a wrong view of it,

it doth not properly run upon Independent principles. Nobody has a greater value for some of these principles than I, and no doubt there have been brethren of that opinion whom all the Reformed Churches do and ought to esteem. As I take it, your Synod have deposed him for his disorders in what they think a Scriptural, regular, and well-constituted Presbyterian Church; his departure from her, his contumacy and divisive courses, and venting and spreading schism and innovations in a peaceable and united society, contrary to his solemn vow and subscription⁽¹⁾". Wodrow questions if representative Independents like Dr. Owen and the Mathers of New England would have approved Glas's practices and thinks that had they been in his position they would have quietly "departed to another society, where they might enjoy their freedom".

The situation was aggravated by Glas's publication expounding his tenets and commenting on the proceedings against him. In 1728 he issued "An Explication" of his "Proposition : A congregation, or Church of Jesus Christ, with its presbytery is, in its discipline, subject to no jurisdiction under heaven", and also "A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Controversy about the National Covenants, and of the ways that have been taken about it on both sides". The following year (1729) there appeared his "A Continuation of the Narrative" and "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs".

Still more serious in the eyes of orthodox Churchmen must have seemed the development of a Church order among the Glasite societies at Tealing and other places. As already noticed, it became the custom for the followers of Mr. Glas to meet together for fellowship and the more frequent observance of the Lord's Supper. It was not long before it was decided, in accordance with New Testament precedent, to have a

(1) Wodrow, "Correspondence", III, 459. Cf. "Analecta", IV, 187.

(1)

weekly observance of the Sacrament. Mr. Glas exercised a pastoral oversight in these societies. At first he was assisted by his lay elders, but before long they saw that the primitive churches had a plurality of elders, bishops, or overseers, and it was resolved to appoint Mr. Francis Archibald of Guthrie, who had followed Glas's example by gathering a society within his parish, as co-elder with Mr. Glas. On July 21st 1728, two months after the Commission of Assembly confirmed the suspension of Glas, Mr. Glas and Mr. Archibald were accepted as joint-pastors by their associates in Tealing and Guthrie, and at the same time deacons were appointed for special duties. This arrangement continued until Glas's removal to Dundee after his final deposition in 1730.

The case had gone too far to be withdrawn unless Glas consented to submit to the judicatories. Great as was the sympathy felt for him in some quarters, it was recognised that the Church of Scotland could not overlook the affront to her authority. The patience of the Church Courts had been tried to its utmost limits. Glas regarded his deposition as a grave injustice, but there was no other course that the Commission could take, for his obduracy precluded an amicable settlement. It was on the grounds of contumacy and schism rather than error that the sentence was passed. The introduction of Church order into his societies justified the opinion of Wodrow that he had resolved "to breake all squares with the Church and set up upon his own leggs in the Independent way"⁽²⁾. This action could scarcely be construed otherwise than as "divisive courses". The Church was obliged in her own interests to express not only disapproval but also stern censure and to deal in the

(1) "The Theological Repository" (Liverpool) N. S., III, 105.
(2) "Analecta", IV, 3.

severest manner with the offending minister. The deposition of John Glas from the ministry of the Gospel was the first instance of its kind in the history of the Reformed Church of Scotland.

Nine years after the event just described the General Assembly of 1739 revoked the sentence of deposition, "and did restore him to the character and exercise of a minister of the gospel of Christ; but declaring, notwithstanding, that he is not to be esteemed a minister of the established church of Scotland, or capable to be called or settled therein, until he shall renounce the principles embraced and avowed by him, that are inconsistent with the constitution of this church"⁽¹⁾. This "very curious act", as Dr. John Cunningham describes it,⁽²⁾ has been generally approved, though Robert Ferrier, sometime minister of Largo, who joined Glas at a later date, suggests that the Assembly found it prudent to take off a sentence of which "they themselves seem to have been ashamed", and rather caustically remarks that this "seems to be a tacit, or rather a pretty open acknowledgment, that there is a distinction betwixt a Minister of Christ, and a Minister of the Kirk of Scotland"⁽³⁾. Dean Stanley more charitably says, "It is much to the honour of the General Assembly that they long bore with the eccentricities of this childlike reformer; and in his case they adopted a precedent which, though harsh in its application, contained a principle full of forethought and kindly feeling. Whilst withholding from him the office of a minister of the Established Church they distinctly recognised him as a minister of the Gospel".⁽⁴⁾ It needs to be remembered

(1) "Scots Magazine", I (1739), 233.

(2) "The Church History of Scotland", II. (1859), 455.

(3) Preface to "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs" (1777), 3-4.

(4) "Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland", 131.

that nine years had intervened before the act of revocation and restitution was made. Very significant is the fact that the overture which led to the reversion of the previous decision came from the Synod of Angus and Mearns. It was represented to the Assembly that Glas's peculiar principles were not inconsistent with his being a minister of the Gospel, and it was further urged that such an action had already been taken in the case of Mr. Archibald who, though deposed by the Synod, had been restored by the Commission of Assembly to his status as a minister of the Gospel but not of the Church of Scotland. (1) Glas himself had made no application for such recognition - indeed, it is questionable if he appreciated the action. By this time he had moved much further from the Church of Scotland in sympathy, outlook, and practice, so that it made no difference to him how the Assembly regarded him. It may also be noted that the very Assembly which restored Glas was that which (2) "prepared the way for the deposition of the Erskines". There seems some ground for the statement that "when the Church of Scotland became harsher towards the founders of an opposition Presbytery, (3) it became lenient towards Congregationalists".

(1) "Annals of the General Assembly" (1739-1752), 10, 383. Cf. Wodrow, *Analecta*, IV, 187-188, 261-262; "Correspondence" III, 489; Cunningham, "Church History", II, 455.

(2) Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 455.

(3) Agnew, "Theology of Consolation", 241-242. Gabriel Wilson and Henry Davidson who had adopted Congregational principles did not join the Associate Presbytery but formed an Independent Church at Maxton. When Davidson offered to resign his parochial charge the Presbytery requested him to remain. This irregularity continued for twenty years without interference on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities. Vide, Scot, "Fasti", II, 177, 185; Brown, "Gospel Truth" (1831), 163 ff.; Dugald Butler, "Lindean and Galashiels" (1915), 42; Robert Hall, "The History of Galashiels", 195-196.

SECTION 6 : LATER MINISTRY 1730-1773

John Glas was in his 35th year at the time of his deposition by the Commission of Assembly in 1730. Nearly forty-four years of life were still to be granted to him during which long period he devoted himself to the service of the churches which sprang up here and there in sympathy with his views of doctrine and Church order. Meantime the future was uncertain. At a comparatively early age he found himself cut off from the ministry of the Church which he had served for several years, and deprived of the source of income wherewith to support his family. This enforced separation from the Church of Scotland naturally involved a great change in his fortunes and influence. No longer did he enjoy the social prestige of a clergyman of the National Establishment, but was now regarded as a heretic and schismatic, the leader of a small and despised sect. In days to come, after the heat of controversy had died down, he was to regain in some measure the respect of his contemporaries who, though they disapproved of his views and practices, appreciated his character as a man. Some of the ministers who had opposed him during the process in the Church Courts afterwards showed him much kindness.⁽¹⁾ But at the outset Glas had to endure social ostracism and bitter hostility. He was disappointed in some of his friends. Many who had hitherto been disposed to associate themselves with his movement for reform now took the opportunity of withdrawing their connection.⁽²⁾ It seemed as if the tide of Glas's popularity had definitely turned.

- (1) Among these was Thomas Ayton of Alyth who had stoutly contended with Glas on the constitution of the Church. On one occasion Ayton sought out Glas and, after embracing him, exclaimed, "O wock! what would become of me but for that new covenant?",
(2) One who withdrew was the Laird of Tealing, but his wife continued her allegiance.

In March Wodrow had written, "It's thought that this determination of the Commission will weaken Mr. Glasses party in Angus, and put an end to the divisions of the country"⁽¹⁾, and in May he could say, with evident satisfaction, "He is sinking much in Angus since his de-⁽²⁾position".

After his deposition Glas continued to minister to the society in Tealing. Weekly meetings were also held in the house of Bailie George Lyon in Dundee. The friends in Dundee walked the five miles⁽³⁾ to Tealing to attend the worship and Sacrament on the Sabbath. Before long Glas decided to remove his abode to Dundee which now became the centre of the first Glasite Church - the "Mother Church". It was in Dundee that Glas spent the major part of his long ministry. With the exception of short pastorates in Edinburgh and Perth, Dundee enjoyed his special interest and care. In the early days he and his family were in straitened circumstances, but friends saw that their temporal necessities were supplied. Later Glas supported himself and family by keeping a book-shop which was afterwards handed over⁽⁴⁾ to his son Thomas. To the meeting in Dundee members walked long distances. Some came from Perth, while one enthusiastic disciple - Miss Jean Smellom, who lived at the house of Dr. Smellom opposite the Crosswell in Edinburgh, travelled on foot once a month to be present at the Communion in Dundee. This lady became the wife of Thomas Glas and after her husband's death in the prime of life served⁽⁵⁾ as a "ministering widow" until her own death at an advanced age.

(1) "Analecta", IV, 111.

(2) Ibid., IV, 135.

(3) The Communion vessels, bearing the inscription "This belongs to the Congregational Church at Tealing, 1730" are preserved in the Glasite meeting-house, Ashley Street, Glasgow.

(4) "Letters in Correspondence" (1851), 5. (5) Ibid., 6.

Soon after Glas settled in Dundee it was decided to form separate churches in places where there were companies of his sympathisers, but the difficulty was to secure elders or pastors. So far the only ordained minister attached to Glas was Francis Archibald of Guthrie whose experience so closely resembled that of his friend. The problem of the eldership was solved as the result of a dispute which arose in the fellowship at Dundee during the temporary absence of Glas. In the summer of 1730 Mr. Glas went to Dunkeld for a much-needed rest. When he did not return by the Sabbath the question was raised whether the Communion could be observed without the presence of the pastor. Although the membership included men who had held the office of elder in the National Church, certain members maintained that as these were only ruling elders, not teaching elders, they were not qualified to dispense the Sacrament. Others replied, "Have we not Elders, and is it not their office to feed the flock, by dispensing the ordinances, as well as by doctrine?"⁽¹⁾ Those who objected appealed to the authority of Dr. John Owen. "Thus the controversy began; and such was the leaven of human authority on the minds of many, that it was kept up at intervals the whole day, without either party being convinced; and such was their state of mind at parting in the evening, that few expected they were ever to meet together again"⁽²⁾. It was decided, however, to send a representative from each party to confer with Mr. Glas. Mr. George Miller, who stood by Owen's opinion, and Mr. James Don, afterwards a leading Glasite Elder, were chosen to proceed to Dunkeld. Don set off immediately, walking the whole distance. On arrival at Dunkeld he

(1) Owen's view is stated in his "The True Nature of a Gospel Church", "Works" (Goold's edition), XVI, 79-81.

(2) Ferrier's Notes in "Supplementary Letters", Appendix, p. iv.

informed the pastor of the contention which threatened to disrupt the fellowship. Glas prepared to return without delay. Meantime Mr. Miller arrived on horseback and stated the case of his party. Glas listened in silence, reserving his judgment until he had seen for himself what the situation was. When the three men arrived back in Dundee the members were hastily gathered. The whole matter was reviewed in the light of Scripture. An examination of Acts xx. 17-18, compared with I Timothy iii. and Titus i., seemed to show that elders and bishops were the same officers under different names, and also that the essential qualification of an elder was that he be "apt to teach"; consequently, "ruling" elders who lacked this gift had no warrant in the New Testament. The majority accepted this conclusion. The decision was marked by the immediate removal of the seat hitherto occupied by the ruling elders. The dissentients were separated from the fellowship- a procedure which became very common in the Glasite societies.

Further, it was discovered that the New Testament contained no specific requirements for a learned ministry, therefore it was resolved to appoint to the eldership brethren who, though they possessed no academic education, were men of high character, earnest piety, and ability to teach. For several days the members met for prayer and fasting. Eventually two of their number were chosen for the sacred office, viz., James Cargill (b. 1701), a glover, who was appointed colleague to Mr. Glas at Dundee, and William Scott, who became co-pastor with Mr. Archibald at Guthrie.

No step taken by the Glasites caused more commotion or evoked more criticism and resentment than that of ordaining to the ministry

men without educational qualifications and who followed common occupations. The Scottish tradition of an educated ministry seemed deliberately flouted by these erratic sectaries. Most bitter of all were the clergy who pronounced these untrained teachers and preachers "unlearned babblers". Writing to an Irish minister, the Rev. Charles Masterton, who was inclined to admonish Glas with gentleness, Robert Wodrow says, "He is advancing tradesmen to the ministry, and turning out the soberer members of his congregation with much imperiousness, because they cannot see those gifts and qualities he, it seems, finds in the ignorant people he will make ministers of, who, they say, exceedingly expose religion in their probatory discourses"⁽¹⁾.

In 1732 two additional elders were set apart, James Don and James Cant. The latter, at least, could not be described as an illiterate man. He was a scholar of no mean repute, well-versed in the Greek and Latin Classics, and with some knowledge of Hebrew.⁽²⁾ For some years James Cant served as H. M. Surveyor of Customs at Perth, and after the formation of the Glasite Church in that city exercised the office of elder for forty years. He was highly esteemed not only by his co-religionists but also by the whole community.⁽³⁾

The prejudice against an untrained and non-professional ministry continued to be strong. In a sermon before the Synod of Angus and Mearns, Mr. John Willison inveighed against "a sect which is lately risen among us, who decry the knowledge of human arts and sciences, and of the languages, as unnecessary for gospel-ministers,

(1) "Correspondence", III, 482-483.

(2) Principal Lee refers to Cant as "an antiquarian of great note in Perth". He was the editor of the second edition of Henry Adamson's "The Muses' Threnodie", first published in 1638, and now re-issued with a dedication to the Lord Provost and other leading officials of Perth in 1774.

(3) D.C.Smith, "The Historians of Perth", 59 ff.

and therefore made choice of illiterate men for that office". This utterance elicited a reply from John Glas⁽¹⁾ in which he refers to the action of the Church of Scotland in deposing two able ministers, William Colville and Andrew Ramsay for refusing to sign a Declaration in 1648, and for authorising the ordination of John Gillon⁽²⁾ who had no academic qualifications. The reproach of Mr. Willison, he says, comes ill from a minister of a Church which has acted in a similar way. Moreover, he points out that the so-called "illiterate men" make no claim to be ministers of the National Church. A fortnight earlier than the date (December 1733) of Glas's letter to Willison, Alexander Morice, a weaver in the parish of Kettins, had been cited before the Kirk Session to answer a charge of inviting to his house Messrs Don and Cant, "pretended preachers", and encouraging them "to make a shew of preaching" in a local barn. The summons, signed by the Session Clerk declared: "That by the wholesome constitutions of this national church, and by the word of God itself, no man ought to intrude into the sacred office of the ministry, without being called and sent of God; nor ought they to be received into Christian houses, nor bid God speed"⁽³⁾.

Another ground of offence to orthodox Presbyterians was the institution of weekly Communion which lacked the accompaniment of fast-days, preparatory and thanksgiving services, thereby making the Sacrament too common and depriving it of due solemnity.

(1) "Works", II, 256 ff.

(2) Cf. Wodrow, "Analecta", IV, 271: "That same day, John Gilon, a pious but illiterate man who had no language but his mother tongue, was ordered to be ordained a minister. My Lord (Eglington) when he came out, said the Assembly were going quite wrong. They had put out two great lights in this Church, and had set John Gilon at Linlithgow, a rough and dark lantern in comparison with them".

(3) "Letters in Correspondence", 22-23.

In 1733 a Glasite Church was formed in Perth. Mr. Glas, accompanied by a few friends, came from Dundee to attend the opening services. When the party, who had come by boat, landed at Perth they were met by a hostile crowd who not only treated them to verbal abuse but also pelted them with mud and various missiles. The local clergy were greatly incensed by the establishment of a schismatical meeting-house in their midst, and one of their number went so far as to urge the magistrates to suppress the society. This minister preached an inflammatory sermon from the text "Take us the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vines; for our vines have tender grapes" (Canticles ii, 15). So excited were some of the hearers that they seriously proposed to burn down the house where the meetings were held. Only the intervention of the Town-Clerk, Mr. George Miller, deterred them from violence. One female zealot became so enraged by the appearance of Mr. Glas on the street that she cried out, "Why do they not rive (tear) him to pieces?"⁽¹⁾

The Church in Edinburgh was formed in 1734⁽²⁾, in which year Mr. Glas left Dundee to take up the duties of an Elder until the new cause was firmly established. It was in connection with this Church that Robert Sandeman, then a youth of about sixteen, who had come to study at Edinburgh, made his profession and identified himself with the Glasite movement.⁽³⁾

Robert Sandeman was born in Perth on April 29th 1718. As a child he had come into touch with Glas and his movement, for his father, David Sandeman, a merchant and magistrate of Perth, had been associated with the Glasite fellowship both in Tealing and in Dundee. The elder Sandeman appears to have been rather vacillating in his

(1) "Account of Mr. John Glas", xlvi-xlvii.

(2) "Letters in Correspondence", 119.

(3) Ibid., 120.

allegiance, for on more than one occasion he withdrew his connection. In a letter dated 16th March 1733 he writes to the Elders of the Dundee church confessing his "rash and sinful deserting of the profession of faith" and imploring that he be restored to fellowship.⁽¹⁾ Mr. Glas, William Morison, and George Miller testified their belief in the sincerity of his repentance, and on March 19th the Elders replied stating that the Church had re-admitted him to membership. For several years he was connected with the church in Perth. Robert was evidently predisposed towards the Glasite teaching, and when he met Mr. Glas in Edinburgh he decided to join the newly-formed society.⁽²⁾ This decision changed his outlook and prospects. It had been intended that he should prepare either for the ministry or the medical profession, but after one or two sessions at Edinburgh University where he showed a special aptitude for mathematics and languages, he returned to Perth in 1736. He entered into business, later becoming a partner with his brother William as a linen manufacturer.⁽³⁾

The accession of Robert Sandeman proved to be an event of the profoundest importance, for it was chiefly through his influence and labours that the Glasite movement spread beyond the confines of Scotland to England, Wales, and America. Though Glas must rightly be regarded as the initiator and founder of the movement, it was Sandeman who gave it impetus and made it a force to be reckoned with

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- (1) "Copy of a Letter from Palemon to his Father" (June 1745), 30.
(2) Many years later Robert Sandeman was an Elder in this Church.
(3) William Sandeman was four years younger than Robert. He was an enthusiastic follower of Glas, and held office as Elder in the Perth Church for many years. His daughter, Sibella, became the wife of Robert Boswell, W.S., a cousin of the famous James Boswell. William's crest stands as a confession of faith. "The Sandeman Genealogy", Introduction.

in the religious world of the Eighteenth Century. Had it not been for his powerful advocacy and indomitable energy, it may be doubted whether the opinions of John Glas would have attracted much attention or his Societies have continued for any length of time.

At the early age of nineteen Robert Sandeman married Glas's eldest daughter, Catherine (b. March 11th 1722), "a young gentlewoman of sweet disposition, who at an early age manifested the influence of the fear of God upon her conscience"⁽¹⁾. Seven years later (1744) he was ordained an elder in the Perth church. Though previously invited to take office he had declined on the grounds of youth and inexperience. At last he yielded to the persuasions of Mr. Glas who regarded him not only as a dear son but also as a young man of exceptional ability. A keen student and deep thinker, Sandeman had already given evidence of the quality of his mind. In order that he might devote himself more fully to his duties he now retired from business.

During his ministry in Perth Sandeman had the painful duty of reproving his father who had again lapsed from the fellowship.⁽²⁾ His letter is one of the most remarkable ever addressed by a son to his father. He acknowledges his father's parental affection and says that only deep concern for his spiritual welfare induces him to write in such a manner. He requests that he will "notice the things offered for your conviction, and not the person who lays them before you". He recalls how as a boy he had been impressed by his father's conversations on his return from the fellowship meetings at Tealing and Dundee, but how disappointed he has since

(1) "Biography" prefixed to "Discourses", vi.

(2) "Letter of Palemon to his Father" written in 1745.

had reason to be by the manifest change of attitude. He calls upon him to repent : "Be not ashamed to confess your sin freely. ... Let not the world, reproaching you for changeableness, hinder you from making another change yet, and returning to your duty". In a postscript he reminds his father that this is not the first time, though it is the longest, that he has apostatized. To stir his conscience he sends him copies of his confession in 1733 and the reply of the Dundee elders. Robert lays part of the blame for his father's defection to the charge of his mother who, apparently, had never been in real sympathy with her husband's Glasite views or connections. This letter provides a pathetic illustration of the divisions created in many families as the result of conflicting religious beliefs and attachments. But whatever David Sandeman's attitude might be, several of his children were keen supporters of the Glasite movement and some of their descendants remain so to the present time.

Meanwhile, in 1736 and the early part of 1737, Glas himself had been resident in Perth as an Elder of the society there. (1) About the same time he was approached with a view to the pastorate of a vacant congregation in Sunderland, but did not view the matter (2) favourably. But in 1737 he returned to his old charge in Dundee, devoting himself to the care of his flock, though always ready to respond to the call of any church which specially needed his help.

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- (1) MS letters written by Glas from Perth and addressed to him there are still privately preserved.
- (2) This information is derived from MS correspondence. Under date March 16th 1737 Glas writes: "I had a letter this winter from Mr. John Cranston, Minister of the Congregational Church in Newcastle, informing that there is a People in Sunderland not far from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, wanting a Minister, & wanting to know if I or Mr. Archibald could be prevail'd on to go there. I suppose Mr. Archibald means not to go, & as for our churches they cannot spare an Elder anywhere".

He also spent much time and labour in literary work. Most of his theological treatises and pamphlets were composed and published between 1737 and 1759.

These years saw many changes. In 1738 the movement received a notable recruit in the person of Mr. George Byres who in 1730 had succeeded his father, George Byres, Senr., as minister of Lessuden (St.Boswells), Roxburghshire. Byres the Younger was married to a daughter of Gabriel Wilson, minister of Maxton. Although several ministers of the National Church had continued a friendly correspondence with Glas on matters of religion, Mr. Byres was the first clergyman after Mr. Archibald to identify himself fully with the new movement by resigning his living to join the Glasite fellowship. After his secession from the Church of Scotland he served as an Elder in the church at Edinburgh for two years, during which period his brother-in-law, a son of Gabriel Wilson, was received into the membership. Byres afterwards laboured for many years as Elder in a small church at Kippielaw within the parish of Bowden near to Melrose. He passed away in 1773 (the same year as John Glas) "respected to the latest period of his life by all who knew him, as an example of the virtues which distinguish the Christian".

In 1741 Francis Archibald relinquished his post at Arbroath, removing to Edinburgh where he took up duties as Master of the Orphan Hospital. There is no further reference to him in connection with the Glasite movement. It is probable that he died two or three years after he settled in Edinburgh.

(1) Gabriel Wilson, one of the "Marrow Brethren", was a friend of Glas.

(2) "Supplementary Letters", 9.

(3) Preface to "Narrative" (1828), xviii.

(4) Scot, "Fasti", V, 437.

One of the most far-reaching events in the history of the Glasite movement was the publication in 1757 of Robert Sandeman's "Letters on 'Theron and Aspasio'", written in criticism of the famous work of that title by James Hervey, one of the most popular Evangelical divines of the Church of England in the Eighteenth Century. It was during the decade following the issue of Sandeman's "Letters" that the movement received large accessions from various denominations both in and beyond Scotland, and that the number of⁽¹⁾ Glasite or Sandemanian churches showed the greatest increase. Among those influenced by Sandeman's work was Robert Carmichael, minister of the Anti-burgher Congregation at Coupar-Angus, Perthshire. As he did not hesitate to express his views both in private conversation and in the pulpit Carmichael came under the suspicion and displeasure of his brethren. In November 1761 he was cited before the Anti-burgher Presbytery of Perth on a charge of heresy. He was accused of teaching, 1. That faith is not the instrument but the fruit of justification; 2. That there is no scriptural authority for making the invitation of the Gospel universal; 3. That there is no warrant for National Churches and Covenanting; 4. That before the days of John Calvin Presbyterianism was unknown. As he⁽²⁾ refused to retract his opinions he was suspended by the Presbytery. A few days later he received from John Glas a letter virtually in-⁽³⁾ viting him to become associated with the new order of churches. The matter was discussed between them at an interview held in Dundee⁽⁴⁾ at which Glas was favourably impressed by Carmichael. Shortly afterwards Carmichael removed to Dundee where he identified himself with

(1) Vide Part III, Section 1.

(2) M'Kerrow, "History of the Secession Church", 285-288; Cf. Small, "History of the Congregations of the U. P. Church", II, 565-566.

(3) "Letters in Correspondence", 93.

(4) Ibid., 44.

Glas whom he accompanied to Perth during a visitation of the church there in January 1762⁽¹⁾. Carmichael was regarded as a valuable accession. One of Sandeman's correspondents describes him as "a frank, open man", adding "I hope he will soon supply some of our wants"⁽²⁾. In September 1762 Carmichael appeared before the Synod to whom he read his "Declaration and Confession", as a result of which he was finally deposed in 1763. His association with the Glasites was of short duration, for in the same year he withdrew his connection, as also did Archibald M'Lean, owing to a difference of opinion respecting a case of discipline in the Church at Glasgow⁽³⁾. Shortly afterwards Carmichael changed his views of baptism and after his immersion became pastor of the first Baptist Church in Edinburgh which was formed in November 1765⁽⁴⁾. In 1769 he removed to Dundee in which town Glas was still resident⁽⁵⁾. Carmichael's special interest is that he carried over with him several of the peculiar principles and practices which gave a Glasite tinge to the "Scotch" Baptist churches both north and south of the Border⁽⁶⁾.

In 1763 there seemed a likelihood of Glas removing from Dundee to Edinburgh. It was proposed that Robert Sandeman, who was now in the capital, should relinquish his office in the church to take up similar duties in Glasgow, in which case Glas was to succeed him in Edinburgh. The Edinburgh church addressed a letter to the sister church in Dundee expressing the hope that the brethren there would be willing to release Mr. Glas even though it meant considerable

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- (1) "Supplementary Letters", 14-15.
 - (2) "Letters in Correspondence", 44.
 - (3) "Memoir of Archibald M'Lean", xxi. In a letter to James Allen dated Dec. 8th 1763 Glas mentions the dispute and refers to C.: "Carmichael, whom I would not suffer to undermine our discipline, has my masterly or lordly spirit as his plea and support". "Letters in Correspondence", 83.
 - (4) Bristo Baptist Church Year-Book, Historical Note.
 - (5) "Memoir of M'Lean", xxvi.
 - (6) Vide Appendix, Sect. 1.
 - (7) "Supplementary Letters", 100-102.

self-sacrifice on their part. Glas had already indicated his readiness to serve the Edinburgh church should a vacancy occur. The letter recalled the generous action of the Dundee brethren thirty years earlier when they had given their pastor to Edinburgh. So far from their self-denial having involved spiritual loss this action had brought blessing, and a like spirit on this occasion would have its own reward. To the joy of the Dundee church an arrangement was made whereby James Don, now an Elder at Arbroath, proceeded to Glasgow,⁽¹⁾ and Glas remained in Dundee.

In the summer of the following year (1764) the church at Perth invited Mr. Glas to assume the eldership with them.⁽²⁾ Strong representations were made by the churches in Dundee and Arbroath⁽³⁾ but Glas thought it his duty to accept the call. The Dundee church was by far the largest and strongest of the Glasite societies. Apart from his own members Glas's preaching attracted many interested hearers, and the meeting-house was generally filled. These considerations were put forward as reasons why Glas should remain. Further, it was said, "Now the church in Perth have often the benefit of your ministry, and we are far from grudging it; but we presume to think that we have the best title to enjoy the constant advantage of it".⁽⁴⁾ The Arbroath brethren pointed out that Dundee provided the best centre from which to maintain contact with all the scattered societies in Scotland.⁽⁵⁾ But Glas considered that Dundee was well able to spare him, and he may also have thought that his absence might be beneficial, for there is a hint in the letter addressed to

(1) "The Millennial Harbinger," I (1835), 281-282.

(2) "Letters in Correspondence", 90. (3) Ibid., 90-91.

(4) Ibid., 90.

(5) Ibid., 91.

him by the church that the chief pastor had not always received due appreciation and loyalty. "We must indeed acknowledge to our grief and sorrow", say the writers, "that we have shown in several instances our ingratitude for all the labour and travail you have bestowed on us; we have been headstrong and obstinate, not attending to our duty as pointed out by you to us from the word of God in matters relating to the discipline"⁽¹⁾. In spite of these appeals Glas decided to go to Perth where the membership was numerically smaller and more in need of his help at this time.⁽²⁾

In 1769 Glas returned to Dundee where the four remaining years of his life were spent. He was now an old man who had passed through many afflictions, but he still retained considerable vigour of body and mind. He continued to take a lively interest in the churches of his connection, corresponding frequently with them on matters relating to their difficulties.

About three years before his death another minister who had formerly belonged to the National Church came over to the Glasite communion. This was Robert Ferrier, sometime Minister of Largo⁽³⁾ in Fife. Born in 1741, Ferrier was the youngest son of John Ferrier to whom he became assistant and successor at Largo in 1764. His mother was Elizabeth Johnston, sister of Gabriel Johnston who was for a period Governor of North Carolina prior to the American Revolution. Ferrier's attention was drawn by a brother minister on his death-bed to Glas's "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs". As the outcome of reading this book Ferrier's attachment to the Church of Scotland was shaken. He discovered another minister, James Smith of Newburn, whose views approximated to his own. In 1768 these two

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 90.

(2) Ibid., 94, 97. A copy of the Perth membership roll for 1762 contains 91 names- 45 men and 46 women.

(3) Scot, "Fasti", V, 218-219.

clergymen resigned their livings and published an apology for the

(1)
step taken. This came into the hands of John Glas who made approach-
es to them, but Smith was unfavourable to the proposed association,
(2)
as he entertained a "rooted dislike" for Glas and his churches.

His antipathy influenced Ferrier, but eventually the latter had
interviews with Glas and some of his friends in consequence of which
his prejudice was gradually dissipated. He decided to sever his
connection with the Scots Independents among whom he had served
(3)
as an Elder in Glasgow and to throw in his lot with the Glasites.

He became an enthusiastic devotee of the movement, and it is largely
due to his keen interest that many important facts concerning Glas
(4)
and his societies have been preserved.

(1) "The Case of James Smith... and Robert Ferrier", Edin., 1768.

(2) "Letters in Correspondence", 25; Ferrier's "Preface" to Glas's
"Testimony of the King of Martyrs" (1777), 18-191

(3) Ferrier's "Preface", Ibid. The reasons are here stated.

(4) Writing to Wm. Sandeman on Sep. 11th 1771 Robert Lyon says:
"As Mr. Ferrier has got clear of his scruples, he is like some
who, when first illuminated, think they are capable of convert-
ing everybody, because things appear so clear to themselves; but
when he sits down to compose, and to consider what my uncle
(Glas) has already said on these points, I fancy he will find
some difficulty in adding anything new. However, though he only
dress up his thoughts in his own way, it may be of advantage, as
it will circulate among numbers who never saw, and probably never
would have seen Mr. Glas's works; anything published in his
(Ferrier's) name, will have a run among the religious at present".
"Supplementary Letters", 108.

In 1786 Ferrier married as his second wife, Catherine,
daughter of George Sandeman of Perth, and widow of William
Waterston, wax-chandler, Edinburgh. According to Glasite rules
this second marriage necessitated his resignation of the office
of Elder. He resided in a house in the Lawnmarket for a time.
In 1784 a visitor says "I found the rev. gentleman to be the most
lively, frank, good-humoured personage I have ever met with, full
of jokes and merriment, and possessed of a matchless flow of
animal spirits, and further to my great delight spoke in good
broad Scotch". Vide "Glasgow Past and Present", II, 142. After
his second marriage he removed to the house belonging to the
Waterstons on St. John's Hill (now used as business premises by
Messrs. G. Waterston & Sons). But he made a poor business man. I
am informed that his interests were more literary than commercial,
and that he engaged in tutorial work. Ferrier died in Feb. 1795.
His wife survived him until 1831. (Private information).

Glas had a large family all of whom he survived. His wife died of consumption in 1749 and all her children were afflicted with the same disease. Not one of Glas's fifteen children lived to an advanced age. The most notable were 1) George, who became a ship's captain and explorer. He translated a work entitled "An Account of the Discovery and History of the Canary Islands" by a Spanish Franciscan named De Galinda. The English edition was published in 1764. George shared his father's religious views and held the office of Elder. He met with a tragic fate in 1765. While returning to Britain from Teneriffe he and his wife and daughter were foully murdered by mutineers on board the vessel by which they were travelling as passengers. His untimely death was one of the severest blows which befell his father. 2) Thomas, a bookseller in Dundee of which town he was a respected citizen and freeman. He also was an Elder in the Glasite communion. 3) Alexander, the composer of several spiritual songs and author of a poem "The River Tay". His promising career was cut short by consumption at the early age of 21. 4) Catherine, the wife of Robert Sandeman, who also died of pulmonary trouble early in 1764.

John Glas passed away on November 2nd 1773 in the 79th year of his age and the 55th of his ministry. His body was laid to rest in the famous Dundee burial ground known as the "Old Howff", where his wife and children are also buried. His tombstone describes him as "Minister of the Congregational Church in this place", and the inscription, composed by James Scott, Banker, ends with the eulogy, "His character in the Churches of Christ is well known And will outlive all monumental inscriptions".

(1) "Scots Magazine", Dec. 1765, XXVII, 668-670.

SECTION 7 : THE CHARACTER OF JOHN GLAS

(a) The Preacher.

From the outset of his ministry John Glas manifested the qualities of mind and heart which make the true Christian minister. He was no hireling shepherd seeking first his own interest, but a pastor whose care was devoted to his flock. He looked upon his parish as a "cure of souls", and his earnest desire was to provide his people with spiritual instruction and comfort.

Glas early began to attract attention by his outstanding pulpit gifts. A short time after his settlement at Tealing he was regarded as one of the most popular preachers in Angus. His ministrations were attended not only by his own parishoners but also by many visitors from neighbouring parishes. His services were in demand on special occasions such as Communion seasons which at that period were the chief events in the life of the community.

Glas's sermons were the fruit of careful thought and preparation. During his first years at Tealing it was his custom to write his discourses in full. Few of these have appeared in print,⁽¹⁾ but a number have been preserved either in the original manuscript or in copies made by ardent admirers. Glas was a systematic preacher who believed in exhausting all that could be said on one text before taking another. Series followed series in regular succession. Between March 19th and August 13th 1721 he delivered a series of twelve sermons⁽²⁾ in exposition of I John iii, 2, 3 ("Beloved, now are

(1) Specimen sermons are contained in "The Edinburgh Evangelical Magazine", II.(1804), 287-493, 531-537.

(2) These discourses, which I have seen, were copied by the late Mr. T.J.F. Deacon of Newcastle from a manuscript book originally belonging to Alexander Colville, Elder in the Edinburgh Church at the beginning of the 19th Century.

we the sons of God", etc.). William Jones possessed a folio volume⁽¹⁾ containing many of Glas's pulpit manuscripts dated 1722 and 1723. Between June and October 1722 Glas gave a course of twelve sermons based upon II Corinthians v, 14-15 ("The love of Christ constraineth us", etc.). No sooner was this series completed than on the following Sunday he began a course of twelve addresses on the 17th verse of the same chapter. This was followed by two series of seven and nine sermons respectively on texts from Deuteronomy and Hebrews. Though these discourses were lengthy, occupying considerably more than an hour in delivery, they were listened to with patience, for in those days the popular appetite for sermons was not easily satisfied.

Glas's discourses reflect his doctrinal views and homiletic method. His style was characteristic of the age. The sermons are marked by a minute analysis which to the modern mind appears laboured and dull. The construction is elaborate, with a multiplicity of heads, divisions, and sub-divisions, while the matter is largely theological. There is abundance of logic but little imagination, though the argument is supported by copious quotation of texts drawn from the whole range of Scripture.

In later years Glas did not usually write his sermons in full but contented himself with outlines for pulpit use. The notes like the complete manuscripts, reveal deep spiritual insight, sound exegesis, and clear and ordered thinking. His seven volumes of⁽²⁾ "Notes on Scripture Texts" published between 1747 and 1760, which probably represent material delivered from the pulpit, are marked by scholarship and sagacity, and compare favourably with similar

(1) "The New Evangelical Magazine", IV.(1818), 282.

(2) "Works", (1782), Vol. III.

productions of the time. Two full sermons preached on National Fast Days appointed by Royal authority in 1740 and 1741 possess distinctive merit and show what Glas believed to be the true relation of the Christian citizen to the State.⁽¹⁾

Glas's powers as a preacher remained undiminished to the end of his days. In August 1761 two English visitors⁽²⁾ heard him preach "an excellent sermon" at Dundee. "He spoke well, solidly, judiciously, and with great affection". Writing to Robert Sandeman a few months later (January 1762) James Cant describes a sermon on Jonah ii, 4, which Glas delivered in Perth: "Such another discourse my ears never heard. All was solid substance, and at the same time milk for the weakest babe. The meeting-house was full - he himself in a flow of spirits"⁽³⁾.

Glas's last sermon was preached in Dundee on October 25th 1773- just a week before his death. Based on Hebrews ix, 27-29, it dealt with the solemn theme of Death, Judgment, and Salvation. Delivered with deep feeling and tender affection it made a profound impression upon those who heard it, and was a worthy valediction⁽⁴⁾ to a long and faithful ministry.

(b) The Scholar.

Though Glas ultimately placed little value upon academic learning as a qualification for the Christian ministry he himself was a man of thorough education and wide erudition. His early grounding in the classics and philosophy developed his natural aptitudes

(1) "Works", II, 322-333, 334-355.
(2) Messrs James Allen and William Batty.
(3) "Supplementary Letters", 14.
(4) "Letters in Correspondence", 124.

and strengthened habits of mind essential to the exact student. Glas's literary output was enormous and the mark of the scholar is upon all his work. The second edition of his collected works contains no fewer than forty items, yet it does not represent all the productions of his pen. Though many of these were pamphlets occasioned by the controversies in which he was engaged, others were treatises of considerable length. His works cover most of the great doctrines of the Christian Faith and supply ample proof that if Glas cannot be regarded as a distinctively original thinker who⁽¹⁾ has made any important contribution to theological thought, he was a man of independent judgment and critical ability, quick to discern the implications in the teaching of others. Regarding the Scriptures as the supreme and final standard of faith and conduct he applied himself diligently to the study of the Bible. He had a thorough knowledge of the sacred tongues which, coupled with deep spiritual penetration, qualified him as an interpreter of the Word. Sometimes his exegesis may appear fanciful but often it is illuminating. He subjected every theory and practice to the touchstone of Scripture and if found wanting boldly controverted it no matter how ancient or popular it might be.

The extent of his reading is remarkable when we remember the busy life which he led. He was well versed in the religious and historical literature both of his own time and of previous periods. Citations from the Early Fathers, the Reformers, the Puritans, and divines both Continental and British, Romanist and Protestant, appear frequently in his works.

Glas's most important work is "The Testimony of the King

(1) "The New Evangelical Magazine", IV, 380.

of Martyrs concerning His Kingdom" (1729) which was written during the early period of his ministry when controversy ran high. It is an elaborate exposition of the statement made by Jesus before Pontius Pilate, "My kingdom is not of this world", and it emphasises the essentially spiritual nature of Christ's Kingdom with which is bound up the spiritual independence of the Church. This book, which has had the widest circulation of any of Glas's writings, has been several times reprinted. At the time of its publication it created a great stir and aroused keen opposition as well as gained much approval. One unsympathetic writer declares that the book "has had no inconsiderable share of popularity, and it has served as a general storehouse whence Mr. Patrick Hutchison, and after him all the modern advocates of spirituality, as a peculiar and distinguishing characteristic of the New Testament church, have drawn their principal arguments"⁽¹⁾. By others the work has been highly esteemed as a valuable contribution to the doctrine of the Church. "Had Glass never written anything but this", says one, "his name would have descended to posterity with honour, as one of the ablest biblical scholars, and most enlightened advocates of the doctrines and kingdom of Jesus Christ. It contains none of the asperity of some of his subsequent productions, and is no less creditable to his feelings as a christian, than to his talents as a man"⁽²⁾. It was this treatise which influenced many in the direction of independency and voluntaryism.

Another important work was his "A Treatise on the Lord's Supper" first published in 1743⁽³⁾. This is a scholarly and beautiful

(1) "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen", II, 448.

(2) W.Orme, "The London Christian Instructor", II.(1819), 90-91.

(3) Works, Vol. V.. A new edition was published in 1883.

book providing a careful study of the Eucharist in the light of Scripture and it is illustrated by numerous references from the Early Fathers.

Other publications deserving special mention are, "A View of the Heresy of Aetius" (1745) and "A Literal Translation of the True Discourse of Celsus" (1753)⁽¹⁾. The Preface to the former contains some interesting autobiographical reflections, while the treatise itself is a scholarly study in Church History. The latter is unique as being the first translation in English of the famous attack made upon Christianity by Celsus in the Second century. Glas's work is a reconstruction of the "True Word" of Celsus from the copious citations contained in Origen's apology "Contra Celsum", and it will stand comparison with more recent attempts to present the original. The appended notes display scholarly acumen and critical insight. This book alone is sufficient to justify Glas's claim to erudition.

Reference has already been made to Glas's expository Notes on Scripture Texts. No complete commentary has come from his pen, but there was posthumously published a fragment of a commentary⁽²⁾ covering the first eleven verses of Acts xv.

(c) The Man.

The descriptions of Glas's personal appearance which have come down are very meagre. He is said to have been of more than average stature, of swarthy complexion, and robust physique. His longevity testifies to his sound constitution, so different from that common to his children who shared their mother's pulmonary

(1) "Works", Vol. IV.

(2) This first appeared in "The Christian Advocate" for 1809-1810, Vols. I and II. Published separately in 1847.

weakness. The portrait which is best known scarcely does him justice, for though it represents a strong face the expression is rather dour and forbidding. There was undoubtedly an element of dourness in his character, but his general disposition was genial rather than taciturn and sullen. Glas had a deep sense of humour and sometimes indulged in high spirits. He was a good conversationalist and an entertaining companion whose visits were always welcomed by his friends. In demeanour he differed from the clerical type common in his day. His manners were free and easy, utterly devoid of superiority or professionalism. Referring to himself he says, "He has conceived an unconquerable aversion to the character of all the sorts of those men whose business it is to adapt this glorious revelation (the Gospel) to their interests in this life, and especially to make it subservient to their honour and glory in this present world"⁽¹⁾ Once when rallied on his seeming levity he pawkily replied, "I too can be grave at times, when I want money or want righteousness". In old age his appearance was venerable and his personality attractive. A visitor from London in 1760 describes him as "the most truly reverend and yet the archest bishop I know of in Christendom at present. Profound, indefatigably studious, yet cheerful and always gay. How easy his learning and religion sit upon him!"⁽²⁾

It is scarcely surprising that the estimates of his personal character given by friends and opponents respectively are oftentimes at variance. He has been accused of a domineering spirit and represented as an autocrat who always wanted his own way, resentful of criticism, impatient of advice. In 1726 Wodrow described

(1) "Works", IV, 454.

(2) Letter of J.Densham, "Supplementary Letters", 99.

him as one who "can bear no contradiction without running to hights"⁽¹⁾. Robert Carmichael, as quoted by Glas himself, speaks of his "masterly and lordly spirit"⁽²⁾. William Jones states that he "was too fond of meddling with the affairs of the churches in the connection"⁽³⁾. That there is some measure of truth in these statements⁽⁴⁾ is borne out by a long letter addressed to Glas by James Duncan of Glasgow in March 1771. In this letter he takes Glas to task for having intermeddled in the affairs of the churches at Glasgow and Paisley with serious results to their welfare and unity. He frankly accuses Glas of adopting an authoritarian manner and asks "What authority have you for meddling in the affairs of a distant church of which you cannot be a judge?", adding, "Sure I am, that should any man presume to act the same part towards the church of which you are a member, you would spurn at him with the most contemptuous disdain"⁽⁵⁾. That Glas could be dogged and assertive is evidenced by his attitude during his trial before the Church Courts, and it may well be that he did not change in this respect with advancing years. On the other hand there is testimony of readiness to take suggestions from others. Robert Ferrier who at one time had "a most thorough contempt for himself (Glas), his sentiments, and all connected with him"⁽⁶⁾, largely due to the reports of those who represented him "as an arbitrary tyrant, keeping the Churches in chains under his lordly sway, so that they durst not act but according to his nod", afterwards confessed, "Justice and truth oblige me to say

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- (1) "Analecta", III, 357. (2) "Letters in Correspondence", 83.
(3) "Memoir of M'Lean", xx.
(4) "The Millenial Harbinger", I (1835), 280-285. At this time James Duncan withdrew from the Glasites. Later he became an esteemed Elder of the "scotch" Baptist Church in Glasgow.
(5) "The Millenial Harbinger", I, 282-283.
(6) "Preface" to "Testimony of the King of Martyrs" (1777), 16.

that I never beheld a character more the opposite of this, or one more like the little child, than Mr. Glas appeared to me, when acquainted with him⁽¹⁾". Elsewhere Ferrier cites instances to show "that Mr. Glas was far from assuming authority over the Church, or opposing anything because not proposed by himself, or because it might lessen his own authority or consequence in the Church; but that whatever was proposed, which appeared to have Scripture for its foundation and warrant, immediately received his hearty support, whatever might be the self-denial it would lead to, or whoever might be its proposer⁽²⁾".

Glas was a man who could not avoid making enemies. He was outspoken and uncompromising wherever he considered truth and principle were involved, indifferent to the world's smile or frown. He says that he "can never pass either for a good man, or a wise man, in the place where he lives; nor indeed in any other place where riches are esteemed goodness, and where cunning, and sacrificing all things to the love of gain, are thought wisdom⁽³⁾".

Glas possessed a warm heart which overflowed in kindness to old and young alike. He had a real genius for friendship, and delighted to share innocent pleasures and interests with others⁽⁴⁾. He had a special fondness for little children into whose amusements he threw himself with unaffected zest. In times of trial and sorrow

(1) "Preface", 18. (2) "Supplementary Letters", Appendix, p. v.

(3) "Works", IV, 453.

(4) One of his dearest friends was Dr. John Boswell of Edinburgh, sometime President of the Royal College of Physicians, and a distinguished botanist. I have seen an interesting letter in Glas's handwriting in which thanks are expressed for a gift of flower-roots sent by Dr. Boswell to Dundee. The letter, dated Mar. 26th 1756 also contains an interpretation of Col. i, 24. Writing shortly after his uncle's death "Bozzie" describes him as a genial and loveable man who "had a strange kind of religion". "Letters of Boswell", edited by C. Tinker (1924), II, 309. This letter, dated Sep. 3rd 1780, was addressed to the Rev. W. Temple.

he was an understanding and sympathetic helper, having himself passed through many afflictions, borne with Christian patience and fortitude; in perplexity he was a wise counsellor with a keen insight into human nature. In his family circle he was greatly beloved as an affectionate father who was also a friend. Of his numerous children only one, Alexander, ever gave him anxiety or trouble, and he in time was restored to rectitude and faith. In the churches of his connection his influence remained undiminished. He was honoured as a true Father in God. Outside his own communion he won the regard of all who could appreciate the sincerity of his faith and the integrity of his life, even though they might not approve his particular views. The esteem in which he was generally held by his fellow-citizens is shown by the fact that he received⁽¹⁾ the great civic honour of the freedom of Dundee.

Glas, like other men, had his faults, among which was a tendency to dogmatism and censoriousness in religious matters. He did not sufficiently realise that truth is many-sided and that there might be other points of view than his own. But though these defects may dim the excellence of his character, they do not cancel his claim to regard as a conscientious, unselfish, and courageous man, or as a devout and faithful Christian minister.

(1) This honour was conferred in 1743, but Glas does not seem to have taken his burgess ticket until Sep. 25th 1753, when his son Thomas was also enrolled. Vide, "Roll of Eminent Burgesses of Dundee: 1513-1886" by A.H.Millar (Dundee, 1887), 215-216.

PART II

THE TEACHING OF GLAS

PART II : THE TEACHING OF GLAS

Glas's voluminous writings, mostly called forth by the controversies of his time, cover nearly every aspect of Christian doctrine and practice. Glas, however, never attempted to present his teaching in a systematised form. While he admitted that it might sometimes be useful for a church, or many churches, to publish their faith to the world and indicate their interpretation of the Word of God in opposition to heresy and error, he denied to formal creeds and confessions any authoritative value. All his teaching was based upon the supposition "That the Scriptures of the Old Testament as Christ and his apostles received them from the Jews, and gave them to Christians, with the scriptures of the New Testament, as we have them handed down to us, contain the complete revelation of the whole counsel of God, and are the perfect rule of the Christian religion; which is still to be found pure and entire in these".⁽²⁾

Glas's general outlook may be described as that of orthodox Calvinism. For Calvin himself he had a high regard both as a divine and as a theologian,⁽³⁾ but despite his admiration for the Genevan Reformer he was not prepared to accept his judgments, or those of his later interpreters, as final and authoritative. He submitted them to the test of Scripture, the sole criterion of faith and order. In certain particulars he was led to conclusions at variance with those current in Calvinistic circles. Some of the popular views seemed to him unwarranted by the Word of God and contrary to the faith and practice of the Apostolic Church.

(1) "Works", I, 211. (2) Ibid, V, 1. Cf. II, 241 ff.

(3) Ibid, IV, 493. "John Calvin was a great divine and excellent writer of the sixteenth century, no way equalled by those who show the greatest contempt for him in comparison with the ancients. The fourth century has not furnished us with any writing on divinity that can be compared with his 'Institutions'".

Limits of space forbid, and the scope of the present study renders unnecessary, a detailed examination of Glas's teaching as a whole. To the modern reader his published Works, dealing largely with controversial issues which have lost their interest, and all written in a diffuse style characteristic of a bygone age, may well appear arid and uninviting. It is proposed, therefore, to confine attention to what is central or peculiar in Glas's doctrinal, ecclesiastical, and social teaching - particularly in relation to the topics of Christian Salvation, the Constitution and Order of the Church, and Christian Practice in Social Life.

SECTION 1-DOCTRINAL TEACHING :

CHRISTIAN SALVATION.

From his early days Glas's mind was seriously exercised by the question, How may a sinful man obtain salvation and peace with God? He himself found spiritual peace in a realisation of the sufficiency of Divine grace manifested in the redemptive work of Jesus Christ perfected in His Atoning Death on the Cross. Glas's soteriology was based upon the Divine testimony concerning Jesus as the Son of God Who became Incarnate for man's salvation and through Whose perfect righteousness alone the sinner is justified before God. "The whole scripture-revelation centers in the death of Christ, that great fact whereby the counsel and purpose of God, for the declaration of his justice and mercy in the salvation of sinners, is executed"⁽¹⁾. Again, "Our salvation, according to the Scriptures, depends wholly on this revelation from heaven, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased'⁽²⁾".

(a) The Extent of the Atonement.

Glas made a careful study of the doctrines associated with the names of Calvin and Arminius, as a result of which he reached the conclusion that the special tenets of Arminianism were unsupported by Scripture⁽³⁾. Hence he became an earnest advocate of salvation by sovereign grace, maintaining the doctrine of particular redemption as opposed to that of universal atonement. He was not unaware that

(1) "Works", V, 210.

(2) Ibid., III, 1.

(3) "As to the Distinction of Arminian, Calvinist, or Baxterian doctrine... I'm persuaded Calvin's scheme is more agreeable to the Truth of the Gospel than either of the other two". Unpublished letter of Glas, dated July 23rd 1737.

certain passages in the Apostolic writings seemed to imply the universality of Christ's grace and salvation, but he declares, "The Apostles never intended the universal way of speaking of Christ's death should lead any to think he died for every one of mankind who fell in Adam"⁽¹⁾. Even in their own day the apostles saw comparatively few "partaking of the common salvation and blessedness", and so far from predicting that in the future the majority of any nation would become partakers thereof, they anticipated a repetition of what had happened among the Jews - that the most part would be blinded and fall, while the elect obtained the promised blessedness⁽²⁾.

Glas strongly contended that the atoning death of Christ is the special benefit of those who are saved from among all sorts of men, and that to deny this saving interest of the elect not only involves us in an "endless debate about things unsearchable to our understanding", such as liberty and necessity, but also obliges us to "offer violence to the great scope and design of the whole scripture, which is to raise the glory of the divine grace and mercy upon the abasement of our pride of our own merit"⁽³⁾. He believes that the doctrine of universal redemption diminishes the sense of indebtedness to the work of Christ by introducing personal merit as an element in salvation, whereas the Scriptures represent salvation as the gift of God's sovereign grace and the choice of the saved as determined by the sovereign will of God. Christ did not die for every man, but only for such as God had chosen and predestinated to eternal life.

(1) "Works", V, 206.

(2) Ibid., 207-208.

(3) Ibid., 211-212.

Glas takes his stand by the classic Pauline statement in the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. God is absolutely free either to elect or reject nations or individuals as He pleases. God's actions conform to His own nature and will; His glory is the end of all things created by Him, consequently sinful man may not question the Divine choice or justice. "The gospel silences man's reason on this subject that is quite above it, by that humbling question 'Who art thou, O man, that repliest against God?'⁽¹⁾" It does not attempt to philosophise on such a matter, but simply declares the truth, disallowing any consequences dishonouring to God, Whose righteousness is sovereign righteousness. Whatever God wills must be just because He will it. "It is impossible that unrighteousness can be with God. We cannot admit the thought of an unmerciful or an unrighteous God"⁽²⁾. God's power over His creatures is not less than that of the potter over his clay. He may follow His own counsel, none daring to dispute His authority or justice. It is enough that He declares, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion". So, "If God have mercy on whom he will, then he has not mercy on every one; and there must be some on whom he has not compassion, as Paul's brethren who were not called, like him, but separated from Christ"⁽³⁾. Glas argues his point with logical consistency. To him the fundamental truth is the sovereignty of God, and in the light of this truth the doctrine of redemption must be interpreted.

(1) "Works", V, 210. Cf. Calvin, "Institutes", III, xxiii, 2 : "The will of God is the supreme rule of righteousness, so that everything which he wills must be held to be righteous by the mere fact of his willing it. Therefore, when it is asked why the Lord did so, we must answer, Because he pleased. But if you proceed further to ask why he pleased, you ask for something greater and more sublime than the will of God, and nothing such can be found".

(2) "Works", III, 56. (3) Ibid., III, 57.

(b) Justification by Faith.

How is Christ's salvation made personal to God's elect? To this question Glas replies that a man is justified solely by faith⁽¹⁾ in the redemption wrought by Christ, not by any works of his own. The New Testament represents all men, both Jews and Gentiles, as under the curse of sin and incapable of acceptance with God by anything they themselves can do. Salvation is of sovereign grace, exclusive of personal merit. If God were to treat men according to their deserts no man could be saved, for all alike are in the same condemnation. "God, who condemned all men to death for one transgression of his law, will never justify any man by what he can work⁽²⁾ in obedience to a law which he in any point transgresses." Man can find in himself no fitness to warrant hope of salvation. Any such hope must be based upon something other than his own feeling or experience which completely fails him in this instance - it must rest solely upon the divine testimony concerning Jesus Christ "who was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification" (Rom. iv. 25). This testimony is presented to us in the Gospel proclaimed by the Apostles, and is received by faith. "It is the business of faith to hear God's voice in revelation; and justifying faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. We hear God speaking to us in the scriptures; and as many as believe, hear the voice that raises the dead (John v) and know that it is the word of the Lord"⁽³⁾. This Gospel comes to us not in word only, but in power by the operation of the Holy Spirit which enables us to believe.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Glas's full treatment of the subject may be found in "Notes on Scripture Texts", No. 2 : "A Description of Justifying Faith", "Works", III, 80 ff, and "The Scheme of Justification by Faith", "Works", V, 354 ff.
(2) Ibid., III, 80. (3) Ibid., 84. (4) Ibid., 85, 86.

A summary of Glas's teaching on this head is contained in a sermon outline on Romans x. 13 : "For whosoever shall call
(1)
upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" :

"No man can be justified by doing, or by the deeds of the law, for all have sinned; but all sorts of sinners, without difference, are justified by faith. Righteousness and salvation are here connected; 'with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation' (verse 10); the one cannot be without the other. Salvation is the effect of righteousness, and that is unto all and upon all that believe, without difference. To show this the apostle cites the prophet Joel, ch. ii. ver. 22.

1. The Lord, whose name is called on, is the Lord Jesus, the Saviour; for he says, 'How shall they call on him of whom they have not heard?' He is God. In him God's name is manifested; he is the Father's image, and inhabited by the Holy Ghost. We call on the name of 'Jehovah, our righteousness'.

2. The salvation or deliverance called for to him, is deliverance from the wrath due to sin and all the effects of the curse; salvation from sin and death; salvation by remission of sins. This salvation is the deliverance that appears in Christ's resurrection.

3. Calling on him for this salvation, cannot be without believing on him; and this believing is the effect of his call, as in Joel. They thus called and believing, knowing themselves lost, and no salvation for them in any other name, and being most firmly persuaded of his ability to save, desire this salvation above all things, and count all things loss for it, and they hope in him for it.

4. Any sinner who hears this call, and so calling on the name of the Lord, shall be saved. They have no knowledge who pray to a God that cannot save".

Glas holds that this doctrine of Justification by Faith, so central in the Apostolic testimony, early became dimmed and obscured. Even in the days of the Apostles there arose professors of the faith who adulterated the Gospel: "This appeared under the eyes of the apostles, who complained of Christian teachers, perverting the gospel of God's grace in the justification of

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 261. Cf. *ibid.*, 266.

sinners by the faith of Christ, and of the ear that was given to them, even among those who had been made disciples by the teaching of the apostles". Glas proceeds to say, "But these perverters of the gospel were only a sample of that grand apostasy from the faith, under some profession of it, that was to come"⁽¹⁾. He states that in the sub-apostolic age it is difficult to find among the Early Fathers any who preserved the faith in its purity and simplicity, though he makes exceptions of Clement of Rome⁽²⁾ and the author of the "Epistle to Diognetus"⁽³⁾. When the Roman Empire established Christianity as the State religion "by other means than commending the truth to the consciences of men", the Gospel was still more adulterated, though "wherever the testimony of God, and the import of Christ's death and resurrection in the apostolic scriptures, was heard of, there might be some taught of God, and saved, so coming to the knowledge of the truth"⁽⁴⁾. Not until the Reformation was the long-obscured truth of Justification by Faith re-discovered and proclaimed in opposition to the Romanist conception of merit by good works. Luther described it as "the article of a standing or a falling church", while Calvin and other Reformers taught the same truth. But after the Reformation was established "the first zeal for the truth abated, and nature prevailed, as it will always do in the nations of this world"⁽⁵⁾. Even among professed Calvinists the truth was watered down, "For in place of free justification by God's grace through the redemption that

(1) "Works", V, 355-356.

(2) Clement, "First Epistle to the Corinthians", c.xxxii.

(3) "The Epistle to Diognetus", sect. 9.

(4) "Works", V, 357.

(5) Ibid., V, 358.

is in Christ's blood, much insisted on by the reformers against the Roman church... they now began to insist much more in their sermons on free electing grace, but especially on the efficacious power of that grace in the conversion of the elect, working unfeigned faith in them, and turning them to God in a sincere repentance.... The effect of this strain of doctrine upon them that hearkened to it, was, their seeking peace with God and rest to their consciences by what they might feel in themselves, the motions of their hearts, and the exercises of their souls, in compliance with the call to faith and repentance, under the efficacious operation of grace, which they hoped to find in using those means whereby they supposed it to be conveyed⁽¹⁾". Glas maintains that, in spite of differences on election and perseverance, the Calvinists and Arminians were really at one "as to the grand point of the justification of the sinner before God", looking for grounds of confidence from within themselves rather than from "the answer of a good conscience toward God by Christ's resurrection, as the spring of the Christian religion", which was the testimony of the apostles⁽²⁾.

It is here that we find Glas deviating from the popular theology of his day. The difference is most clearly illustrated by his conception of saving faith which we shall next proceed to consider.

(1) "Works", V, 362.

(2) Ibid., V, 363.

(c) The Nature of Saving Faith.

According to Glas saving faith is something simple not complex. It is neither more nor less than belief of the truth or testimony of God concerning Jesus Christ passively received by the understanding. Therefore it is not an act of the human will but the production of the Divine Spirit. In his early work "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs" Glas enunciates and expounds this conception of faith which was afterwards so forcibly and militantly advocated by Sandeman in his
(1)
"Letters on Theron and Aspasio". Glas says :

"This truth (God's revelation in His Incarnate, Crucified, and Risen Son) comes into our minds and hearts from above, by divine teaching.... not growing naturally in them, but brought in from elsewhere, and ingrafted, that we may bring forth a new kind of fruit.... To be of the truth is to believe it. They that are delivered into that form of doctrine, do obey it. And the way that we obey a truth testified unto us, is by believing it upon the authority of the testifier. In believing this doctrine, there is a subjection of the mind unto the authority of God in his testimony, which is this doctrine. Thus we are said to obey that form of doctrine into which we are delivered. And this persuasion of this truth, upon the evidence of the divine testimony in it, is indeed that faith whereby we are justified, and eternally saved. And this is that which the scripture seems mainly to intend, when it speaks of faith, and calls us to believe.... Thus the scripture-notion of faith agrees with the common notion of faith and belief among men, a persuasion of a thing upon testimony".

Glas asserts that this scriptural view of faith has frequently been obscured by the attempts to describe it, "while that which is most properly faith has been either shut up in a narrow and dark corner of the description, or almost excluded from it, as a thing presupposed unto faith, and not that very faith itself

(1) "Works", I, 141, 142.

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whereby we are justified and saved". Some definitions of faith have been so comprehensive as to include the whole of "gospel-obedience". Thus faith has not only been confused with its concomitants or effects, but also represented in such a way as to make it a "work", an act on the part of the believer, whereas faith is the outcome of God's operation on the mind of the believer. "It is as if we were urged to put forth some-we-know-not-what act of the will, or to give forth something towards Christ by God's help, by which we are to be saved, on account of the connection made in the promise betwixt salvation, and that deed, whatever it be, which is called faith. By this means the hearers of the gospel are set on to seek to do that deed, that work called faith, to save them, and intitle them to eternal
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life". In Glas's judgment, such a conception not only produces perplexity in the minds of serious inquirers who are thereby led to look within themselves for evidences of faith, but also tends to militate against faith by begetting doubts and fears. The truth of the Gospel is not dependent upon a man's inward state or feelings, but rests solely upon the divine testimony presented for his acceptance. What the Gospel offers is evidence of truth which remains the truth even when not believed. The Gospel is a testimony to be credited because it comes with divine authority. "Whosoever is verily persuaded of this truth that Christ bears witness unto, and that upon the credit of his testimony, and the evidence that it carries in itself, is of this truth; and this faith or belief is the fruit of the soul's being

(1) "Works", I, 142.

(2) Ibid., I, 143.

cast into the mould of that doctrine, without which no obedience
can be given unto it⁽¹⁾".

In his letters on "The Usefulness of Catechisms", Glas
passes severe strictures on the definition of faith contained
in the Shorter Catechism⁽²⁾ : "The definition of faith in that
shorter catechism, is the darkest of all, and doth not so much
as make any express mention of that which the New Testament
calls faith⁽³⁾". The result is that the minds of the people have
been confused as to what faith really is. Even the words "As
he is offered to us in the gospel" are ambiguous and misleading.
Whatever the authors may have intended, they are generally
understood as meaning that "to believe in Jesus Christ is to
receive and rest on him as he is offered in the minister's
preachings" rather than in the testimony of scripture itself⁽⁴⁾.
Therefore it is better to accept what the scriptures have to
say about faith. "The faith or belief of the gospel of Christ,
whereby we are saved, is more clearly and plainly described in
the New Testament, than in any catechism⁽⁵⁾".

In his second letter Glas asserts that the common use of
the words "receiving and resting, or coming or embracing, and
trusting", imports more into the idea of faith than the script-
ures allow. These terms imply love and hope, "if they do not
comprehend the exercise of all the graces of the gospel"⁽⁶⁾.

(1) "Works", I, 145.

(2) Q. 86 : "What is faith in Jesus Christ?" A. "Faith in Jesus
Christ is a saving grace whereby we receive and rest upon
him alone for salvation, as he is offered to us in the gospel."

(3) "Works", II, 95.

(4) Ibid., II, 96.

(5) Ibid., II, 95.

(6) Ibid., II, 119.

Glas admits that love and hope, also good works, are inseparably connected with faith, but he deprecates the assumption that they are identical with faith, for in the scriptures they are clearly distinguished from it. "As I dare not, therefore separate those things which God hath conjoined in his word, so I am afraid to confound the things that he hath expressly distinguished. For this reason, I cannot approve of the definition of faith in the assembly's catechism"⁽¹⁾. Truly faith may be described as "receiving", but as the receiving of a testimony (I John v. 9-10). But this is very different from the sense implied in the Catechism, and in the common interpretation of it, which "takes in the exercise of all the graces that may be found in them that believe on his name", for "they would make it to signify any good disposition of heart toward Christ that you can name, rather than believing, or receiving the testimony of God concerning him"⁽²⁾.

Glas sums up his view of saving faith as represented in the New Testament : "This, then, is that faith whereby we have Christ, with the life from the dead that is in him; even our taking God's testimony, or believing him, that he hath raised Jesus Christ his Son from the dead; and what else is this, but the knowledge and persuasion of this truth by testimony? yea, if it were any thing else, it behoved it to get another name than faith"⁽³⁾.

(1) "Works", II, 119.

(2) Ibid, II, 121-122.

(3) Ibid, II, 125-126.

(d) The Effects of Faith.

Glas's critics charged him with teaching a conception of faith equivalent to the "Faith of devils" (James ii. 19).

Glas replies that he cannot see that the passage in the Epistle of James represents faith as consisting in anything other than belief of the Gospel testimony, though it does show that there is a marked contrast between the faith of the elect and the

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faith of devils in their effects:

"I cannot find that James distinguishes the faith of God's elect here, from that of devils, by placing the nature of it in anything beside the belief of the truth of the gospel; but it is easy to perceive that he would have us shew our belief of the truth, to be of a different nature from their belief, by the fruits of it, good works. He doth not say anything from which we can possibly infer, that there must be more in faith, than the belief of the truth of the gospel; but he teaches us, that the true saving faith of the gospel, in the souls of men that are born of God (i. 18, 21), must be very different from the devils belief; because it produces good works, fruits of a very different nature from the fruit of the devils faith; and he would have the root distinguished by the fruits, as he says, 'I will shew thee my faith by my works'".

What James really seeks to emphasise is, that religious profession without corresponding practice is valueless. But where zeal for "pure and undefiled religion" does correspond with zeal in profession, there can be no comparison with the "faith of devils".

Glas repudiates the charge of Antinomianism. So far from undervaluing Christian conduct, he believes that the belief of the testimony, which is wrought in the soul by the Spirit, naturally finds expression in the graces of the Gospel. "This belief of the truth which proceeds from the new-birth, distinguishes itself by its peculiar fruits and effects". These include all

(1) "Works", II, 138.

(2) Ibid., II, 133.

that is meant by love to God and the children of God, evidenced in obedience to the commandments, or doing good works. It is those in whom the truth of the Gospel becomes the principle of practice who are said to "do the truth". "Thus whatsoever the scripture ascribes to believing, is ascribed, at the bottom, to the truth, or to that which is believed, and which is, at the same time, the cause of faith; and all the power that believers have to will or to do good, is the power of the word which they believe"⁽¹⁾. Glas would have the defenders of the Catechism know that justification depends not on our merit in believing, as when we conceive that believing to consist in our good dispositions and inclinations toward Christ, but in the merit and righteousness of Christ Himself. Further, he distinguishes between the works of faith and the natural affections which do not spring from faith in the Gospel:⁽²⁾

"The belief of Christ's righteousness, as it is revealed in the gospel, conforms us to his obedience to the death, especially in love to the brethren whom we have seen; and this is ever attended with that love and good-will to all men, even our enemies that hate us, and persecute us for the truth, which he requires of us, and hath taught us by his example. But this faith of the gospel must not be looked on as the same thing with natural affection, friendship, and the love of our species, or of the human kind, and the love of one's country; for this love to all men, even the enemies of the gospel, doing them good for evil, blessing them and praying for them, which is the proper fruit of faith, and accompanies brotherly love, is for the sake of the unknown elect, II Tim. ii.10, Titus iii. 2-3, even as God is good to the evil and unthankful world for their sakes, as Peter tells, II Peter iii. 9".

Glas insisted upon the necessity of good works as the fruits of genuine faith. Jesus commanded His disciples to love one-

(1) "Works", II, 135.

(2) Ibid., II, 136.

another. This it is which marks their obedience to His will and their conformity to His life and death. "The scriptures of the apostles are full of exhortations to it, as the native fruit and proper evidence of unfeigned faith". The life of Jesus "was a work of grace and mercy to miserable sinners, to the worthless and wretched; for the end of it was to reconcile them to God. He went about always doing good, relieving the distressed... And the good works that are required throughout the New Testament, as the fruits and evidences of faith, are works of mercy and almsdeeds, to be done to all men, but especially to the household of faith"⁽¹⁾.

Glas, however, did not limit the fruits of faith to works of mercy and almsgiving, but represented them as full conformity to Christ's example. To all His disciples Jesus is the Great Exemplar of Faith. The truth which Jesus believed, the spring of all His conduct, was that He was God's well-beloved Son, called to be obedient unto death. By belief of this truth His followers are sanctified. If we would know what are the effects of faith in ourselves we must look at its effects in Him. These Glas summarises as : 1. The profession of the truth He believed, even at the cost of the world's hatred and contempt; 2. His dependence upon the Father's revelation in His Word, which led Him to despise the traditions of men; 3. His love of the truth and hatred of everything opposed to the truth; 4. His absolute sincerity manifested in the "perfect agreement betwixt the belief of his heart and the confession of his mouth";

(1) "Works", III, 100-101.

5. His humility and self-denial; 6. His hope of the joy set before Him- a hope which sustained Him in every affliction; 7. His unfailing patience. Similarly, Glas concludes, these effects will be seen in the lives of all true believers in Christ: "For if we have the same spirit of faith, it must have the same effects in us: and if we have it not, we are none of Christ's, we are not Christians"⁽¹⁾.

(e) On Assurance.

How may a man know that he is justified, or in a state of salvation? Glas affirms that as the Death of Christ saves all for whom He died, so "to know that he died for us is to know and be assured, that we shall be saved by his death"⁽²⁾. Such knowledge or assurance may be inferred from the promise of the Holy Ghost as the Comforter, the pressing exhortations to seek after it, and the directions given for its attainment.

Glas, however, distinguishes between the assurance of faith and the assurance of hope, declaring that it is useless to expect the latter until faith has been exercised. Neither that which is hoped for, nor the ground of hope can be discerned apart from faith. Therefore to place the assurance of hope before faith is to begin at the wrong end. The foundation of hope is the assurance of faith, which can be nothing else than what is proposed in the Gospel for acceptance unto salvation. The assurance of hope is the fruit of faith which originates, not from any persuasion of personal interest in Christ or the certainty of salvation, but from the truth believed. The

(1) "Works", III, 96-109.

(2) Ibid., V, 212.

Scripture represents the assurance of faith as "the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgment of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ, Col. ii. 2. And what is that, but a full persuasion of the truth of which Christ speaks, when he says, 'Every one that is of the truth, heareth my voice'⁽¹⁾?"

Glas denies any knowledge of justification except by the works or labours of love. The evidence on which the early Christians based their assurance of salvation was not the possession of any special gift or extraordinary manifestation, but the "charity, the fruit of faith, and the work and labour of that charity or love, without which there is no Christianity. And where-ever the primitive work of faith and labour of love take place, they are capable to produce the assurance of hope, as they have the promise of the spirit of adoption, to the end of⁽²⁾ the world".

Glas warns against what he considers an ill-grounded and presumptuous confidence of a saving interest in the Atoning work of Christ. Such results in a Pharisaic pride and delight in our own worth and excellency, but cannot answer the purposes of that assurance of hope which is the attainment of true believers. From the Scriptures we learn, 1. That this assurance of hope cannot arise from the possession of special illumination or spiritual gifts not necessarily connected with salvation. Jesus Himself warned against false prophets who prophesied in His name but did not manifest the fruits whereby saving illumination is distinguished from that which is common. Likewise Paul declared

(1) "Works", I, 143-145.

(2) Ibid., V, 213.

that great gifts may exist without charity or saving grace. The various instances of apostasy in the Early Church show how easily men may deceive themselves and others as to their real religious character. That is why the Scriptures so insistently warn against a false ground of assurance. 2. Nor does assurance spring from the testimony of the Gospel concerning the common salvation, for not every one who hears the Gospel is called to eternal life. The Gospel does not testify to every sinner that Christ died for him. As the certainty of salvation is given only to believers, no one can have this certainty without knowing that he truly believes. 3. Nor does assurance come by reflection on the soundness of our belief, or in any acting of our souls that we assume to be faith, without the love of the truth manifested in good works. 4. Nor by the most splendid outward works, while we are not sure whether they proceed from pride and self-righteousness or from the love of the truth which is the fruit of faith. 5. Nor by recalling our former works of love, unless we have steadfastly continued in them and find the remembrance a stimulation to further diligence. (1)

Such are the false grounds of confidence which deceive the soul. Therefore we must perceive that "the assurance of our interest in Christ's death is attained and kept, only in the way of keeping the Father's commandment, that we should believe in the name of his Son, and love one-another as he gave us com- (2) mandment". Those who continue "steadfastly in the work of faith and labour of love... are in the straight way to the full assur-

(1) "Works", V, 217-221.

(2) Ibid., 222.

ance of hope". This, Glas adds, is put beyond all doubt by the concurring testimony of two witnesses. First, our own conscience testifies whether or not we are walking in faith and love. But as the testimony of conscience may waver, "the Holy Ghost comes in as another witness, corroborating the testimony of our spirit, and finishing the proof, by adding his own testimony; as the apostle says, 'The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God'". Thereby we are made partakers with Jesus Christ in the unspeakable enjoyment of the Father's love.⁽¹⁾

On this question of Assurance Glas is somewhat halting. Elsewhere he seems to make it more of a hope than of a certainty⁽²⁾ providing the Christian with a permanent ground of joy and peace. While he admits that the knowledge of personal justification is attainable, and that the Word of God testifies the sufficiency of Christ's righteousness to justify the sinner, he continues, "But we must not think that he who is thus certain of the sufficiency of Christ's righteousness to make him just, is yet assured, that this righteousness is imputed to him, and that he is made just by it... It cannot appear any other way, nor can we be any other way sure, according to the word of God, that he imputes this righteousness to us, but by our faith working with our works, as Abraham's faith did with his works, when he was declared to be just. When we believe on him that raised up Christ for the justification of the ungodly, we believe, that we may be justified by this. And the hope that arises from this faith or

(1) "Works", V, 226.

(2) Ibid, III, 89 f.

belief, is the hope of being made just, or of becoming just, by the imputation of this righteousness. And so the certainty or assurance that is in this faith, is the assurance of this, that the righteousness of the Son of God, raised for the justification of the ungodly for whom he died, is enough to justify us ungodly sinners; it is sufficient without more, to make us ⁽¹⁾ just". Glas suggests that the Christian's persuasion of Christ's power in justification is comparable to the faith which Jesus required in those who came to Him for healing- a persuasion of His ability to heal. For instance, the leper said, "If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean". Though he believed in the power of Jesus to heal, he did not think that Jesus was under obligation to heal him. He placed himself at the mercy of Christ. "He was fully persuaded of his ability to do it; and by this faith he was healed; for Jesus said upon it, 'I will, be ⁽²⁾ thou clean'".

(1) "Works", III, 89.

(2) Ibid., III, 89-90. Cf. Sandeman, "Letters on Theron and Aspasio" (4th ed.), 351-353. Sandeman speaks of "The divine truth affording hope to the vilest transgressor, that he may be justified"(p.339) - "the revealed possibility of deliverance" (p.339)- "The divine word, promise, call, or testimony, leaves it as much a secret who shall be saved, as the doctrine of the divine purpose or election does"((p.348). Sandeman takes to task those who "urge the hearer to believe that Christ is as willing to save him as he is able"(p.350). "Now if the ground of..joy be enquired into, it will appear, that it doth not proceed on any persuasion that I am a justified person; that righteousness is imputed to me; or that there is any difference betwixt me and others. It proceeds wholly on a new discovery of God. The sinner... sees now what he could never understand before, that without any work or endeavour on his part, he may be justified in the presence of the just God".- "Epist. Corr. with S. P.", Letter IV.

SECTION 2 : CONCERNING THE CHURCH

(a) The Constitution of the Church.

Ecclesiastically John Glas ranks as an Independent or a Congregationalist. These were the names by which his churches were accustomed to describe themselves. Dr. Lindsay Alexander says that Glas "appears as the uncompromising advocate of what would now be called Voluntaryism, and of a form of Church government even more democratic than that found among Congregational-⁽¹⁾ists". The latter part of this statement needs qualification. It suggests that Glas was an ultra-Independent, but such was not the case. His form of Independency differs from what is general-⁽²⁾ly accepted as orthodox Congregationalism, especially in its view of the place and authority of the Eldership in the local congregation. Alexander Gordon remarks, "His principles have been described as akin to Brownism, but they approached more nearly to the type of independent presbyterianism set forth by the early Puritans, e.g. William Bradshaw (1571-1618)⁽³⁾". This judgment is more accurate. The Glasite societies represent a form of Church order which might be denominated Presbyterian Independency or Congregational Presbyterianism rather than strict Congregationalism such as that taught by Robert Browne and other Fathers of Independency in the late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth centuries.

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- (1) "The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography", II, 643.
(2) A modern critic, E.K. Simpson, harshly calls the Glasite order "a bastard form" of Independency. "The Evangelical Quarterly", V, 373.
(3) "Dict. Nat. Biography", XXI, 417-418. Cf. Burrage, "The Early English Dissenters", I, 287-288. Burrage's work contains a summary of Bradshaw's views.

Glas maintains that, according to New Testament usage, the word "Church" may be applied only to the "mystic body of Christ" and to the visible expression of that Body in a company of believers locally gathered and organised :
(1)

"The mystic body of Christ- that catholic heavenly assembly, the true Israel- is most frequently called the church in the New Testament. This is that 'general assembly and church of the first-born', written in heaven; Christ's church, built upon him the rock, so that the gates of hell cannot prevail against it".

(2)
He regards the terms "church" and "congregation" as identical :

"The whole nation of Israel is called a church, Acts vii. 38. But that was a congregation, and had one place of worship, the tabernacle of the congregation. The catholic church of Christ, his holy nation and kingdom, the anti-type of that church of Israel, is also a congregation, having one place of worship, where they all assemble by faith, and hold communion: and when all the members are fully gathered in, they will be one glorious assembly".

With the coming of Jesus Christ the temporal covenant with Israel was set aside, so that "the church had passed out of the state of an earthly nation... and is now a glorious general assembly out of all nations; typified by that national assembly: for it is also a nation; but not earthly, not of this world; and so it very far exceeds the earthly nation". Glas states that it was this conception of the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom which led him to change his views of the nature and constitution of gospel-churches.
(3)
(4)

It may be a question, Glas says, if all Christ's professed disciples throughout the world may be called a Church except as they may be regarded as belonging to the "Mystic body" or "general assembly and church of the first-born". There is a

(1) "A Commentary on part of Acts XV.", 30.
(2) "Works", I, 194. (3) Ibid., I, 65.
(4) Ibid., I, 377.

(1)
distinction between the Church Invisible and the Church Visible:

"There is one holy catholic church made up of all them in heaven and on the earth that are born of the Spirit; and this church is not itself to be seen till Christ appear: yet of this church every one in the earth that is, according to the law of Christ, an object of the Christian brotherly love, is a visible member, and is, to us, in that church by the law of Christ, and, as such, has a right to baptism, wherein we are all baptized into that one body; but many that are such, prove, in the issue, to have been no real members of that body, though they were visible members of it. There is also a church, visibly joined together in the profession of the Christian faith, hope, and charity, and assembling together in one place to partake of the Lord's supper, and to observe all Christian institutions continuing stedfastly together in them; and in every such visible church, the mystical church is shewed forth and represented to us; but besides this, I do not know of any visible face or form of a church upon the earth".

The New Testament represents the "mystic body of Christ" as visible in particular churches, but knows nothing of any larger visible entity like that of a National Church or a world-wide ecclesiastical corporation:
(2)

"We may have a metaphysical view of the universality of the visible members of the mystical body of Christ; but that this universality of visible members is, or ever was at any time, one visible church in a political sense, or one visibly organised body, is so far from being a truth, that it is evidently false in fact".

The New Testament reveals churches in various places like Jerusalem, Corinth, and Ephesus, but each was a congregational entity, the local expression of the Catholic Body of Christ. The Church in one place was not broken up into several congregations. Despite the large numbers associated with the first Church at Jerusalem, there is nothing to indicate that it was regarded as other than one church or congregation. There may have been various meetings of Christians in Jerusalem, "but it seems pretty plain, that the

(1) "Works", I, 432-433.
(2) Ibid., I, 345.

body of disciples, called the church, could, and did frequently assemble with one accord in one place; and so was but one congregation⁽¹⁾". What was true of Jerusalem may be assumed to have been the same in other places- one flock or church under the spiritual oversight of its own presbytery or pastors.⁽²⁾ Thus each congregation possessed the complete character of a Christian church apart from any external sanction.⁽³⁾ Glas contends that this view of the local congregation as a complete church is in harmony with the declaration of the old Scots Confession (1560), wherein the Scottish Reformers state that if the true notes of a church, viz., the true preaching of the Word of God, the right administration of the Sacraments, and an adequate discipline, are to be found, no matter how few the number of members,⁽⁴⁾ there is a true church of Christ. The Scots Confession "owns no other church but the mystical body, and a single congregation"⁽⁵⁾. This view Glas believes to be the teaching of the New Testament: "I can see no churches instituted by Christ, in the New Testament, beside the universal, but congregational churches"⁽⁶⁾.

On these grounds Glas enunciated and defended his proposition: "A congregation or church of Jesus Christ, with its presbytery, is, in its discipline, subject to no jurisdiction

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- (1) "Works", I, 196 ff. (2) Ibid., I, 205. Cf. *ibid.*, III, 253.
 (3) Ibid., I, 209, 379.
 (4) Cap. xviii: "Whairsoever then these former nottis ar sene, and of any tyme continew (be the number never so few above twa or thre) thair, but all dowbt, is the trew Kirk of Christ, who according to his promise is in the myddis of thame: not that universal (of whiche we have befoir spokin) but particulare; sick as was in Corinthus, Galatia, Ephesus, and utheris places in whiche the ministerie was planted by Paule, and war of him self named the Kirkis of God. And sick kirkis, we, the Inhabitants of the Realme of Scotland, professouris of Christ Jesus, confesse us to have in our cities, townis, and places reformed".
 (5) "Works", I, 379. (6) Ibid., I, 187.

(1)
under heaven". This affirmation was a distinct denial of the claims of both diocesan Episcopacy and classical Presbytery. The local congregation alone has Divine sanction, therefore there can be no superior external authority or gradation of ecclesiastical courts exercising control over a particular church. Jesus Christ Himself is the Head of the Church to whom the local church owes direct allegiance. Christ has not dele-
(2)
gated His authority to any individual person or to any synod:

"Every church of the saints is built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, builded together in Christ for an habitation of God through the Spirit; and having his word and Spirit remaining amongst them, they need not go to any other church, or any assembly of church-rulers, to seek the Spirit... He (Christ) hath not given this, which he claims as his prerogative, into the hands of any man or society of men, to stand up in his place, and rule his churches; but hath made every one of them, with its own presbytery, ~~of~~ its own college of bishops, immediately dependent on himself; and so independent of all others".

Further, Glas maintains that as a visible church is congregational not national or provincial, so it cannot be parochial consisting of the residents in an ecclesiastical parish. Even Presbyterians, he says, will scarcely venture to affirm that "parishes, and their overseers, are of the same kind with the first Christian churches or congregations, and their presbyteries; for these congregations were gathered together only by the gospel; and were disciples of Christ, voluntarily associated for holding spiritual communion together, and for the observation of the laws of Christ, and the enjoyment of the spiritual privileges of his kingdom, which is not of this world, and they were governed by presbyteries freely chosen and maintained by

(1) "Works", I, 188.

(2) Ibid., III, 262. Cf. *ibid.*, I, 349.

(1)
themselves". A visible or congregational church is a company of believers called out and separated from the unbelieving world, gathered and united in the profession of the one faith, walking in mutual love and faithful obedience to the institutions of Jesus Christ.

Glas does not say that it is possible to know absolutely those who are Christ's- indeed, he declares, "We cannot discern betwixt the common and special operations of the Spirit in others, or betwixt a temporary believer, who may fall away, and them that believe to the saving of the soul"⁽²⁾. But as the man who has not the Spirit of Christ is none of His, a profession which does not manifest the presence of the Spirit disqualifies for membership in a church of Christ. The church is composed of those who have been so taught by the Word and Spirit of Christ that they confess His faith. Such confession is not bare assent to the propositions of a formulated creed, but an avowal of faith in the testimony of the Gospel. A man "must confess with the mouth, so that it may appear some way that it comes from the heart. And however weak and indistinct his confession of the faith may be, yet it must appear unto others, who should account him a disciple, to be hearty... There is but one faith; and the confession of this faith, as it is one, in all them that are Christ's throughout the world, qualifies a man for being a member of a church of Jesus Christ"⁽³⁾. If a man "shew a hearty agreement" in the confession of the one faith and desires to join a congregation of Christ's disciples he

(1) "Works", I, 276.

(2) Ibid., I, 210.

(3) Ibid., I, 211. 213. Cf. ibid, I, 235.

ought to be received. The early Church did not wait for the evidence of a good life before receiving members, but accepted sinners on confession of faith. "These had no good character for which they were to be regarded; and were considered by one-another as self-condemned sinners, looking for forgiveness thro' the blood of Jesus, reconciling them to God in one body".⁽¹⁾ The evidence of sincerity in the fruits of faith can be manifested only in the fellowship by walking in brotherly love and in observance of the institutions of Christ.⁽²⁾

To the whole fellowship of a church belongs the duty not only of worship but also of discipline, including the admission and excommunication of members. Though every congregation must have its own office-bearers, Elders and Deacons, who have special duties, the New Testament knows nothing of church-representatives to whom are delegated the powers which belong to the whole company of disciples who constitute a⁽³⁾ church.

(b) Church and State.

Glas teaches that Church and State are entirely separate, that neither may trespass upon the domain of the other. As a purely spiritual society the Church has no immediate concern with questions of civil government, and the State as a civil institution has no right to exercise legislative or executive functions in the sphere of religion. Here Glas differs not only from the standards of the Church of Scotland respecting

(1) "Works", III, 297.

(2) Ibid., I, 214 ff.

(3) Ibid., V, 185; I, 195, 281.

(1)
the authority of the civil magistrate, but also from the views
of the early Puritans who held that the magistrate as such had
(2)
powers in religious matters.

The first queries addressed to Glas by the Synod of Angus and Mearns related to this question. Asked whether or not the Christian magistrate has no more power concerning church-matters than a private believer, he replied that if the church be of this world, or an institution established by law, the magistrate has authority within it, but if it is not of this world the magistrate has neither place nor power. Further, he declared that as Christ has not annexed civil sanctions to His laws, His Kingdom cannot be advanced by earthly power, that religion may not like natural or civil rights be defended by force of arms, and that the magistrate has no direct concern with the
(3)
reformation of religion or the suppression of heresy.

Glas's views on Church and State follow naturally from his conception of the Church as a spiritual society of believers organised in visible and local congregations, but such doctrines were new and strange to Scottish ears during the first half of the Eighteenth Century. Church and State were regarded as the

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- (1) Vide Scots "Confession of Faith" (1560), c. xxiv: "Moreover to Kingis, Princes, Reullaris, and Magistratis, we affirme that chæiflie and maist principallie the reformatioun and purgatioun of the Religioun apperteanes; so that not onlie thei are appointed for civile policey, but also for maintenance of the trew Religioun, and for suppressing of idolatrie and superstitioun whatsomever". Cf. "West. Conf.", c. xxiii.
- (2) Bradshaw says, "So yf a wholl Church or Congregation shall erre, in any matters of faith or religion, noe other Churches or Spirituall Church officers haue (by any warrant from the word of God) power to censure, punish, or controule the same: but are onely to counsell and aduise the same, and so to leaue their Soules to the immediate Iudgment of Christ, and their bodies to the sword & power of the Ciuill Magistrat, who alone upon Earth hath power to punish a whol Church or Congregation". Quoted by Burrage, op. cit., I, 288.
- (3) "Works", I, 184-185. Cf. *ibid.*, I, 285.

(1)
two sides of national life. From the Reformation onwards politics and religion had been closely connected. Glas's doctrine of the Church lay at the root of his objections both to National Establishments and to National Covenanting. He did not deny the religious devotion or sincerity of the Covenanting fathers in defending the "Crown Rights of the Redeemer", but he believed that they were mistaken both in their conception of Christ's Kingdom and in the methods by which they sought to advance and support it. In his judgment the Covenants (the National Covenant of 1638 and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643) rested upon a wrong foundation. They assumed that the nation occupied a position similar to that of ancient Israel which was a covenanted Church-State, and that religion was to be maintained by civil sanctions and the power of the sword. This was totally contrary to the mind of Christ Who declared that His Kingdom was not of this world.

In the letter which originated the controversy about the Covenants, Glas says, "My scruples then with respect to our Covenants, especially the Solemn League, the lawfulness of entering into them: and therefore the obligation of them, take their rise from the view I have of the new testament church, and its distinction from the church of the old testament"⁽²⁾. He admits that in Israel "the commonwealth and the church were the same: so that to be a member of the commonwealth and the church⁽³⁾ were the same", but this was changed with the coming of the

(1) Vide "A Letter to a Minister in the Country: Asserting the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, well warranted from the New Testament, and therefore lawful and perpetually binding"? (1727).

(2) "Narrative", 11-12.

(3) Ibid., 12-13. Cf. "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs", c. ii.

Christian dispensation: "But in opposition to this typical church, which was an earthly kingdom, the new testament church or kingdom of heaven, consists not of any one earthly kingdom, nor of many commonwealths joined in one; but of a society gathered out of all nations into one in Christ"⁽¹⁾. Therefore to imitate the old covenants by entering into new earthly covenants is contrary to the New Dispensation. Yet this is what was done in the national Covenants, "whereby the commonwealth, as a commonwealth, enters into church communion, as is evident by the first article of the Solemn League and Covenant"⁽²⁾.

Glas considered that the whole tendency of national Covenanting has been so to intermix politics and religion as to relax true discipline, remove the distinction between the Church and the world, and impair the purity of the Christian fellowship. This is the natural outcome of following the precedent established in the time of Constantine when Christianity became a State-religion. During the first three hundred years the Church's discipline was purest, but afterwards the indiscriminate admission of members corrupted the character of the Church and necessitated the use of the civil power in the maintenance of such discipline as there was⁽³⁾:

"The connection of the church with the powers of the earth, could not but make a different outward state of the church, from that which it was before there was any such connection, and produce effects, that all the influence of the gospel, and the ablest ministers of it, and the connection of the church with the corner-stone, did not produce before. For it made the people of the nations come into a profession of Christianity, not of free choice, nor by the influence of the gospel itself upon their minds, but by the influence of the

(1) "Narrative", 13-14.

(2) Ibid., 17.

(3) "Works", II, 290. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 78 f., 262.

powers of the earth. And in consequence of this, the most of the people born and bred in a country, so made and called Christian, are Christians the same way that people born and bred in a Heathenish or Mahometan country, are Heathens or Mahometans... The native consequences of this conjunction of the church and the kings of the earth, to bring forth Christians, was such a form of the Christian profession as is consistent with a visible denial of the power of it, or such as under which men might visibly seek themselves, and follow the course of this world, and fulfil the lusts thereof, and so Christianity become a broad way, wherein all the people of a nation might walk with ease".

The same thing has happened in Scotland, whereby the Church's constitution and membership as designed by Christ have been changed. The Covenants have enlarged the visible Church beyond the limits intended by the Divine Head of the Church, in allowing many to take the Covenants without giving real evidence of faith in Christ- indeed, many a visible unbeliever has subscribed from motives other than religious. (1)

Again, the connection between Church and State has introduced into the sphere of religion the coercive power of the magistrate who by laws and penalties enforces the national form of religion: (2)

"For by the same influence behoved the nations to be kept in subjection to the national form of Christianity, by which they were at first brought under it; and as this was not owing to the influence of the gospel, so neither could the clergy trust to it for the other. And as the sanctions of Christ's laws were not sufficient, and he not sufficient to make them effectual unto all their ends, the magistrate behoved to annex sanctions of his own to the laws of Christ and to make them effectual upon a people that would not be influenced by the sanctions that Jesus Christ had annexed to his laws. So that the professed subjection of these people to these laws, was not a profession of subjection to Jesus Christ and his authority, as was the professed subjection of men to the gospel at the first: but a profession of subjection to the magistrate instead of Christ".

Moreover, where subjection was not readily given the magistrate

(1) "Narrative", 22.

(2) "Works", II, 291-292.

had recourse to force. In Scotland Presbyterianism was alone recognised by the Covenants. This insistence on uniformity in creed and church government led to intolerance and persecution. Those who could not conscientiously subscribe to the Covenants were deprived of church communion and the privileges of the commonwealth, while those who actively resisted them were met by force of arms.

Glas "condemned the forcible repression of heresy and described the politics of the previous century as a combination of the Church and State to make Christ a King by violence and the power of the sword"⁽¹⁾. Coercion is a violation of man's natural right to liberty of conscience, as well as of the fundamental principle of Christ's Kingdom. Though a man's opinions be erroneous, the civil power is not thereby justified in suppressing his heresy by external force. Indeed, obedience obtained by compulsion is useless. Nor may the cause of Christ be defended by the sword. The instances in which this has been attempted show that Christ has given no encouragement to look⁽²⁾ for success, but rather the contrary:

"We need not go farther than this same land. The disciples of Christ here took the sword, and openly professed it was for the defence of Christ's kingdom; but they went into captivity, and were killed, first by the sword of Montrose (whereby the land also suffered for the perjury immediately going before), next by the sword of Cromwell, and then by the sword of Charles II. and the Bishops; neither was it by their own sword that they were at length delivered. The Lord owned as many of his truths and ways as they contended for, and them in adhering to them unto death; but not their mistakes, nor their way of fighting with the sword".

Glas does not deny that civil rights may be defended by the

(1) W.L.Mathieson, "Church and Reform in Scotland", 33.
(2) "Works", I, 110.

sword, but he affirms that "the truths and institutions of Christ, which are not natural, nor civil and earthly, but spiritual, are not capable of such a defence: they must be defended another way"⁽¹⁾. Consequently a society which, though it claims Christ as King, employs force in His interest, thereby⁽²⁾ shows that it is a kingdom of the world not a kingdom of Christ. Thus the Church may not seek the support of the secular arm.

Yet another evil effect of the Church's connection with the State is that of a divided allegiance. This connection "makes it some way necessary for the members of the church, as such, to be politicians as well as Christians, and to be let into the affairs of the state, as well as into the affairs of the kingdom of heaven"⁽³⁾. Where the Church is established by law the State will naturally claim some say in ecclesiastical arrangements, so that it becomes difficult to maintain a consistent loyalty to Christ with a consistent obedience to the civil⁽⁴⁾ power. Moreover, such a system tends to corruption, especially⁽⁵⁾ in the ministry for which legal provision is made:

"When by the legislative power of the nation, the maintenance of the ministers of the church is provided for, and their authority over the people of the nation raised and secured, this must, in the nature of things, be an allurement to worldly men to seek into the ministry, that seek nothing but their own honour, gain, and ease, and to lay out themselves for it, as men do for any honourable, gainful, and easy worldly employment. And whatever professions or subscriptions be required of them, when connected with such temporal advantages, these will be complied with by multitudes that have nothing but these advantages in view".

Not only are self-seekers encouraged to enter the ministry for the sake of the emoluments and status secured by an Establishment

(1) "Works", I, 119.

(3) Ibid., II, 293.

(5) Ibid., II, 293-294.

(2) Ibid., I, 118-119.

(4) Ibid., II, 293.

but they are afterwards prone to regard the maintenance of the ecclesiastical system as their chief business, irrespective of higher calls or duties.

On these grounds Glas opposed the connection between Church and State. He was the first in Scotland to advocate what has since been known as the Voluntary principle.

(c) The Ministry.

Glas made a careful study of the Christian ministry during the first three Christian centuries. In his tract entitled "Tradition by the Succession of Bishops"⁽¹⁾ he traces the steps whereby the simple ministry of the New Testament churches gave place to a clerical caste deriving its authority from a monarchical Episcopate. But in Glas's judgment clericalism is not peculiar to Episcopacy. It manifested itself in modern Presbyterianism and also in Independency. Glas desired to restore within his societies the scriptural ministry which, though unprofessional or priestly, was valid and authoritative, resting solely upon the sanctions of the Word of God. Yet despite their opposition to clericalism, the doctrine of the Glasites respecting the pastoral office was so high that some have accused them of retaining the leaven of clerical domination under the name of Elders. They regarded the ministry not as a mere convenience but as something essential to the order and well-being of the Church. The ministry is God's gift to His Church, invested with Divine authority, possessing functions which may not be assumed

(1) "Works", V, 325-353.

by any except those specially chosen and ordained to office. Without a constituted presbytery no church is complete or may observe the institutions and discipline appointed by Christ.

Glas marks the distinction between what he calls the extraordinary and the ordinary officers in the New Testament churches, or between the temporary and the permanent ministry: (1)

"The officers of Christ's institution are distinguished, first, into extraordinary and ordinary. The extraordinary, are those that were employed in the first joining together of the New-Testament church, the body of Christ, made up of Jews and Gentiles, reconciled to God, in one body, by Christ's death, and in laying the plan of gospel-churches, and in making the New-Testament revelation. Such were the Apostles, the chosen witnesses of the Lord's resurrection; and the Prophets, inspired by the Holy Ghost, for explaining infallibly the Old Testament, by the things now written in the New; and the Evangelists, the apostles ministers. These can be succeeded by none in that which was peculiar to them; as the nature of their work, completed when the New-Testament revelation is complete, does abundantly manifest. And yet the churches of Christ may be said to have them still, as, in the days of our Lord, the Jews had Moses and all the Prophets to hear. But they are succeeded in all that was not peculiar to them, by the ordinary officers; as we see the deacons in Jerusalem took a part of the work that at first was in the hands of the apostles, even that ministry which is distinguished from the ministry of the word. And then the elders were employed in the rest of the work of the apostles, that was not peculiar to them; so that the apostles, after the setting apart of elders, are distinguished from them also, no doubt by that which was peculiar to them".

The permanent ministry, therefore, is two-fold, consisting of elders and deacons, the latter including the deaconesses or ministering widows.

The New Testament knows no distinction between the elder or presbyter and the bishop, neither was there any distinction in the days of Clement of Rome who speaks only of bishops and deacons. Not until the second century was well advanced do we (2)

(1) "Works", II, 213.

(2) Clement, "First Epistle to the Corinthians", c. xlii.

find one of the college of presbyters distinguished from his brethren by the appellation of "bishop", and raised above them in order and degree as the centre of unity in the church. The next step was in the third century when oral tradition represented single bishops of churches as deriving their status and power from the apostles in an unbroken episcopal succession, notwithstanding that the written tradition unmistakably shows the
(1)
original identity of bishop and presbyter.

A distinguishing feature of the Glasite teaching is its insistence on a plurality of Elders in each congregation. "The written tradition", says Glas, "establishes a plurality of bishops in every church, and we may as well seek for one chief
(2)
deacon, as for one chief presbyter in any church there". So far from being an irregularity, as subsequent tradition asserts, this was the normal constitution of the primitive churches. Everywhere in the New Testament the church-officers are spoken
(3)
of in the plural- "bishops (presbyters) and deacons":

"When we look to Matth.xviii. and the Acts of the Apostles, and the rest of the New Testament scripture, touching elders or bishops, it is manifest, that, by the institution of Christ there ought to be a plurality of elders in every church. For as our Lord speaks of two or three as presiding in the church, to which he grants the power of binding and loosing, Matth. xviii.; so we find the apostles, that at first were elders to the church at Jerusalem, left a plurality of elders in that church; and after this example, we read of Paul and Barnabas their ordaining elders in every church... And in all directions to elders, touching their duty toward the flock, and the directions to the people, as to their duty toward them, they are still spoken of as a company, and more than one".

Glas holds that without a plurality of elders a church is incomplete and cannot observe Christian ordinances and discipline.

(1) "Works", I, 284; III, 300; IV, 470 ff; V, 336 ff.
(2) Ibid., V, 336.
(3) Ibid., II, 216-217.

In this respect he differs from the common form of Presbyterianism with its single minister or pastor, assisted in the discipline by a body of lay-elders who with himself constitute the Kirk-session, and also from some forms of Independency which vest the discipline in the membership as distinct from its officers. Glas regards the eldership as essentially one, so that in a congregational presbytery there must be parity of office. He will not allow any real difference between a teaching elder and a ruling elder:⁽¹⁾

"The opinion, of a ruler, or ruling-elder, that has no power granted him by Jesus Christ, for teaching and preaching, or administering baptism or the Lord's supper... establishing a distinction in the elder's office, seems to overthrow the unity of that office. For such an officer must be of another kind, than those elders or bishops we have, Matth. xxviii, 19-20. there being no authority granted there to rule without teaching".

True, the Scriptures distinguish between the functions of ruling and teaching (I Tim.v.17; Rom.xii.7-8), but this does not warrant the assumption that two distinct offices are represented by these terms.⁽²⁾ The gift of teaching is necessary to every elder, whatever function he may exercise in the church. "He is no elder that is not qualified for the ministry of the word, and is not a steward of the mysteries of God"⁽³⁾. But though every one must be "apt to teach" he need not give all his attention to this aspect of the elder's office. This is clearly indicated⁽⁴⁾ in the accounts of the apostolic churches:

"Of these elders that were in every church, some laboured in the word of exhortation, some in doctrine, and some ruled well... And those that exhort and rule well are called governors, in distinction from teachers, I Cor.xii.28; and although they that ruled well did not give themselves to teaching and to exhortation so constantly in the doctrine of the church as they did that laboured in the word and doctrine, yet, seeing Christian elders rule only by the word of the

(1) "Works", II, 220.

(2) Ibid., II, 213-228.

(3) Ibid., II, 221.

(4) "Comm. on Acts XV.", 23-24.

Lord Jesus, it behooved them to be able to manage that word upon the consciences of the flock, and to instruct, admonish, and exhort the flock as occasion requires; and to apply that word to particular cases in the exercise of discipline, and to convince gainsayers, to warn the unruly, and comfort the feeble-minded. Neither could they admonish the flock without being someway apt to teach".

All elders are equal in the rule and government of the church over which they have oversight. No elder singly may exercise discipline or dispense the Lord's Supper. Though Christ has not fixed the number of elders in any church there must be at least two to form a presbytery. "Where they are wanting there is something
(1)
necessary unto church order wanting".

The qualifications of an elder are fully set forth in I Tim. iii.1-7, and Titus 1.6-9. In addition to ability to teach his personal character and reputation must be beyond reproach, manifesting traits of temperance, sobriety, charity, generosity, justice. Further, it is required that he be the "husband of one wife", and one "having faithful children". The former phrase is interpreted as excluding a second marriage with retention of office and the second as meaning "children in the faith", i.e. children who, if of mature years, have made the profession in joining the
(2)
fellowship.

Elders are to be chosen from the membership by the unanimous decision of the church, after giving evidence of the requisite gifts and graces. Character and ability, not academic edu-
(3)
cation or social position, are alone to be taken into account:

"No man can take this office to himself without being duly called according to the word of God. But it is not in the power of any church to limit access into that office any otherwise than it is limited in the word of God. As little

(1) "Comm. on Acts XV.", 23. (2) "Works", III, 155.
(3) "Comm. on Acts XV.", 4. Cf. "Works", II, 229 ff.

is it in the power of any church to put men into that office by means of any other qualifications, or by any other rules than those that are insisted on in that word."

Having been duly called and approved, an elder is to be solemnly set apart by prayer and fasting, with the laying on of hands of the presbytery who also give the right hand of fellowship. Glas, however, does not stress the laying on of hands as an essential of ordination to the Eldership. While undoubtedly a Scriptural usage, it would "be hard to find the ordination of any mere bishop or presbyter, by imposition of hands, anywhere in the New Testament"⁽¹⁾. There is no such instance of the manner of ordaining presbyters as there is of the ordination of deacons in Acts vi., so it is utter folly to over-estimate the form of ordination as though it were the supreme consideration⁽²⁾. Nevertheless the imposition of hands is not to be neglected, for we may justly assume that "there was no less importance and concern to the Christian people in the ordination of men to care for their souls, than in the ordination of men to care for their bodily necessities, and the disposal of alms"⁽³⁾. This much, however, is clear- there is no instance in the New Testament of the ordination of any church-officer by a single person⁽⁴⁾. The New Testament also shows that ordinations were occasions of prayer and fasting (Acts vi.3,6; xiii.2,3)⁽⁵⁾.

Glas repudiates the idea that ordination conveys any priestly status or removes the ordinand from one class into another⁽⁶⁾. He acknowledges no distinction of "clergy" and "laity,"

(1) "Works", V, 6.

(2) Ibid., III, 257.

(3) Ibid., III, 258.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid., III, 259.

(6) Ibid., V, 5.

and deprecates the use of ecclesiastical titles. Elders may fulfil their duties without giving up their ordinary occupations, though if necessity obliges them to do so they have a right to sustenance from their flocks.

The office of deacon is confined to the "ministry of tables" as distinguished from the ministry of the Word. The special function of the deacon is to "minister" to the poor, and the qualifications for this office are those stated in I Tim.iii. 8-13. Appointment and ordination are similar to those of the elder, but without fasting and the right hand of fellowship.

(d) The Sacraments.

(i) Baptism.

Glas defines Baptism as an institution wherein is expressed "the great Christian truth, concerning salvation by the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, in whom the Father is well pleased, and the purification of sinners by his blood"⁽²⁾. Its warrant is the command of Christ in His great commission to the Apostles to "teach all nations, baptizing them." This institution has been variously perverted and opposed, but "there is no remarkable error about baptism, but what has a foundation in some great error as to that truth which is signified in baptism"⁽³⁾. Some, supposing that Baptism itself makes Christians, contend for the baptism of nations as such, whether or not the people have become disciples through the influence of the Gospel upon their minds. Others regard Baptism as a temporary arrange-

(1) "Works", II, 214.

(2) Ibid., II, 356.

(3) Ibid.

ment at the time when Christianity was first planted in the world, applicable to the first converts from Judaism or Paganism, but not intended to continue beyond that period. Others, like the Quakers, emphasise the Baptism of the Spirit and deny the obligation of the external rite of water-baptism. Others again, limit the subjects of Baptism to adults on confession of faith, denying that children come within the scope of the ordinance. To all these views Glas takes exception, maintaining that Baptism by water is an institution of permanent obligation, to be administered not indiscriminately but to believers and their children.

Glas marks a distinction between Baptism and the Lord's Supper : Whereas the Lord's Supper is designed as the special privilege of those who are members of a visible local church, Baptism establishes a relationship to the Universal Church but does not confer membership in a local church. Baptism precedes not follows admission to the fellowship of a particular church. The fullest and clearest exposition of this point is contained in a letter written to Mr. Gabriel Wilson of Maxton with whom Glas had corresponded on the subject of Baptism. Referring to a previous letter Glas says:

"I alledged yt.ye Lord's Supper is an Ordinance belonging to a visible Church, & to ye members of ye Body of Christ, ye General Assembly & Church of ye first-born, only as they are members of a visible Church shewing forth yt. Body of Christ; But Baptism belongs unto yt. Body of Christ, the Church of ye first-born, & is pre-supposed in our becoming members of any visible Church. It is true it is to be administered properly by ye pastors & teachers of visible Churches to ye end of ye world; yet it is administered by them as they are given for

(1) Unpublished letter dated October 28th 1733. I have retained the original spelling.

ye edifying of ye Catholick Body by bringing in ye Elect to it, & it is immediately connected wt ye influence of ye Gospell upon ye world whereby men are made disciples antecedently to their being members of any visible Church, and while they are only apparent members of yt. Body which is called Christ's, & into which we are baptized; so when you look thro' ye Scripture instances of yt. Baptism wherewith ye Lord commanded ye disciples of all nations to be baptized, you easily see yt. it was administrated instantly upon yt. first appearance of membership in ye Body of Christ, & before adding to a visible Church".

Those upon whom the Spirit came at Pentecost were indeed converted by the Gospel, but their baptism took place before they were added to the visible Church to fulfil the ordinances of Christ. Those who already had been gathered by the Lord into the first visible Church, before His departure from the earth, were beyond the need of Baptism, as they were possessors of the privilege pre-supposed in Baptism, but those afterwards received as members were first baptised. Baptised disciples will
(1)
naturally seek membership in a visible church:

"This Baptism makes ye baptized debtors to do all ye commands of Jesus Christ ye one Lord, & so to become members of a visible Church where these commandments are observed, as soon as it shall be in their power; but still it belongs to ye meer apparent members of ye Catholick Body, as they are such. Thus it is manifestly distinguished from ye Lord's Supper which cannot by any rule in ye new Testament be administered to a single visible member of ye Catholick Body of Christ, but to a company of them visibly join'd together as a Body to shew forth ye Catholick Body in' ye Lord's Supper".

The subjects of Baptism are those who confess their faith in Christ, and their children. Glas was a convinced Paedo-baptist:
(2)

"We find that Christ has commanded his ministers to baptize all them that are made disciples by the influence of the word of the New Testament; and all and every one of them that believe, with all their heart, that Jesus who was crucified, and raised again, is the Son of God, and that gladly receive the word of the gospel testimony and exhort-

(1) Letter to Gabriel Wilson. Cf. "Works", V, 157.

(2) "Works", I, 328.

ation, or the new covenant: and he hath warranted them to baptize the infant seed of such, whom he calls holy, and of whom he says the kingdom of heaven is, and to whom the promise of the new covenant, whereof baptism is the seal, is, as it is to their parent; and he has not commanded them to baptize any other".

The profession of every one confessing faith in Christ is to be judged with charity, and his children "judged of according to the parents confession while infants, but according to
(1)
their own profession when come to years".

Baptism is the sign and seal of the new covenant as circumcision was of the old covenant. It belongs to the Church which, drawn from all nations, has superseded the nation of
(2)
Israel as the covenanted people of God:

"This is the Church of the New Testament into which we are baptized; and baptism stands in the same place in that Church wherein circumcision stood in the Old Testament Church, of which Christ was come (Col.ii.10-12). The same thing which was typified by circumcision to the fleshly Israel is exhibited in baptism to the true Israel".

Of this covenanted Church children may be members- not all children, but the children of believing parents, for the promise is to believers and their children. "Infant membership appears in the appearance of the parents, for the infant of the
(3)
believer is holy", partaking with the parent in the covenant of the Gospel. Glas admits that there is no explicit precept for or indisputable example of Infant Baptism in the New Testament where Baptism is inseparably connected with a profession of faith, but he denies the inference that children are thereby
(4)
excluded from the scope of the ordinance. Though infants are incapable of hearing the Word and confessing the Faith, they

(1) "Works", I, 329.

(2) "Supp. Letters", 'Short Notes on Baptism', p. xxxix.

(3) Ibid., p. xl.

(4) "Works", II, 359.

are capable of renewal by the Holy Spirit and by virtue of their parent's faith are included in the membership of the Church.

Glas thinks that the denial of Infant Baptism arises from the fundamental mistake of making baptism "to lie in something else than the thing signified; even that, whatever it be, which distinguishes the adult Christian from his infant: though our Lord expressly declares, that we must enter his kingdom even as infants enter it"⁽¹⁾. He continues:

"The first opposition that we hear of, to infant-baptism, turned salvation upon an entire sort of believing whereof infants are incapable: whereas, there is not any true faith, or sincere confession of the faith, but that alone which acknowledges, that salvation lies only and wholly in the thing signified in baptism. And, if we enquire how that thing saves us? our Lord answers us, Just as it saves our infants. The denial of infant-baptism must have always proceeded from a disbelief of this".

When Jesus rebuked His disciples who would have turned away the children brought to Him for blessing, He "secured the church-membership of infants before his institution of baptism"⁽²⁾.

On the question of the mode of Baptism Glas opposes those who contend that immersion is the only valid form, on the ground that this alone signifies union with Christ in His Death, Burial, and Resurrection. The true import of Baptism is in Washing⁽³⁾!

"Washing with water, then, was from the beginning the sign in baptism, in whatever way, or after whatsoever mode it was done. The common way of baptizing is not by sprinkling, as has been always falsely alledged in this controversy; but by pouring water from the hand of the baptizer upon the baptized. And this answers exactly to a scripture-sense of the word baptism: for, in the scripture, pouring the Holy Ghost on men is the same as baptizing them with the Holy Ghost".

In the Scriptures different figures are used to represent washing

(1) "Works", II, 358-359.

(2) Ibid., II, 371.

(3) Ibid., II, 376.

or cleansing, but we may not infer therefrom that any one form of baptism is binding. "If we look at the will of the institutor expressed in his word, as the sole ground of the relation betwixt the signs in baptism and the Lord's supper, and that which is signified by them; we will not look for any such similitude in these instituted signs, as we do in pictures or images"⁽¹⁾. The Scriptures do not confine us to any particular mode of washing,⁽²⁾ so that another mode may not be called baptism.

(ii) The Lord's Supper.

Glas pronounces the Lord's Supper "the most solemn outward action of religious worship instituted in the New Testament"⁽³⁾. Appointed by Christ as a memorial of His Atoning Sacrifice, and as the bond of communion with Him in His Death, the ordinance is perpetually obligatory to His disciples "until he come". As Baptism marks a relation to the Universal Church into which all believers are baptised, so the Lord's Supper marks a relation to the particular visible church which is the Body of Christ:⁽⁴⁾

"They that believe there is such a thing as Christian communion, and a visible communion of saints by profession, must acknowledge, that the Lord's supper is the highest instance of that communion. It is peculiarly designed for this beyond any other ordinance of worship in a visible church; for in our eating of that bread and drinking of that cup together, we have the clearest and most evident outward representation made to us of the glorious mystical union and communion in the body of Christ mystical. Our mystical union and communion with Christ is evidently set forth to the believer in this ordinance; so that the believer in eating of that bread, and drinking of that cup, may know the riches of that glorious mystery, John vi.56-57: "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and

(1) "Works", II, 377-378.
(3) Ibid., V, 27.

(2) Ibid., II, 378.
(4) Ibid., I, 266.

I in him'. And, at the same time, the mystical union and communion of the members of Christ, in him crucified, is evidently set forth to the believer in our partaking all of that one bread and cup, I Cor. x. 16-17".

It is this which distinguishes the Lord's Supper from Baptism. Baptism is administered to individuals, but the Lord's Supper must be partaken of in a company: "The nature of the Lord's supper will not admit of a believer's receiving it alone; 'for we being many are one bread; for we all partake of that one bread';⁽¹⁾ and therefore there is no instance of it in the New Testament". Moreover, those who partake must be one body, consequently membership of the church in a particular place is necessary to communicating. Glas stresses the point that the Lord's Supper is⁽²⁾ an ordinance of the visible church constituted of believers:

"The invisible church, as such, cannot partake of the supper, nor can all they that appear to be members of it, partake of it either. Infants of believing parents cannot, nor can visible members of it, who, by their profession, have right to baptism, partake of it by any scripture-warrant, without being joined to a visible church".

Glas strongly objects to indiscriminate admission to the Lord's Table. Two of the Queries addressed to him by the Synod relate to the matter of worthy communicants. Asked if the body of church-members had the right to determine whether or not persons be admitted to the Table, he replied, "None can be admitted to communion in the Lord's supper, with a congregation of Christ, without the consent of that congregation, and there must be a profession of brotherly love in them that partake together in that ordinance". Asked further, if the admission of unbelievers polluted the ordinance and hindered communion with Christ and with one-another, he said, "The admission of visible unbelievers

(1) "Works", V, 157.

(2) Ibid., I, I, 330-331.

to that ordinance mars the visible communion of saints in it; and so far as their communion with the Lord, in the ordinance, is connected with that visible communion, so far it mars that also⁽¹⁾. In a pamphlet, issued about the same time (1728), Glas expresses surprise that any should plead the existence of abuses, so severely condemned by the Apostle Paul, in the Corinthian Church, as an extenuation for "a settled, constant, impure communion of disciples and no-disciples in the Lord's supper"⁽²⁾. To profane the ordinance, or to make it common, is, in his judgment, "a heinous sin"⁽³⁾. Indiscriminate admission to the Lord's Table arises from the loss of that discipline which was connected with the ordinance in the primitive Church⁽⁴⁾:

"We find the outward seal of the Lord's supper delivered to the disciples in the churches of the saints, where the ordinance of discipline is placed... These churches are made up of visible members of the New Testament church, the body mystical, that are visibly within the new covenant, and are visibly God's justified and sanctified people; that is, them that appear to the eye of man, according to the rule of the word, to be such, by their own profession of the new covenant".

Glas admits the difficulty of preserving purity of communion, for "in the purest external communion that can be expected in a visible church there will be hypocrites, foolish virgins with the wise... and branches in Christ not bearing fruit"⁽⁵⁾. Moreover, we cannot read the secrets of our neighbours' hearts. Nevertheless we are not thereby relieved of responsibility for those with whom we communicate. Christ's new commandment of brotherly love places us under obligation to know those with whom we associate in the Christian fellowship⁽⁶⁾:

"And is not this ordinance the highest instance of that communion, wherein the disciples give the greatest expression

(1) "Works", I, 188. (2) Ibid., I, 228. (3) Ibid., V, 27.
 (4) Ibid., I, 329. (5) Ibid., I, 256. (6) Ibid., I, 258.

of their love to one another? Are not we, in proving ourselves and our own work, to have an eye upon this mark of love to our brethren whom we have seen, without which none of our works are good works?"

If we examine the New Testament we shall find that we must make a distinction between those who come together to observe the Lord's Supper, and those who are called "the world". Though Christ has not given us the key to men's hearts, He has pointed out the objects of brotherly love with whom we are to hold communion. ⁽¹⁾ Promiscuous communicating destroys true fellowship in the mystical body of Christ, consequently "it is our duty to forbear communion in the Lord's supper with them that have no appearance of being disciples of Christ, believers in him, and are not objects of that brotherly love required in the new commandment; and to withdraw in that ordinance, from every brother ⁽²⁾ walking in open notour disobedience to the commands of Christ".

As to times and frequency, Glas considers that the practice of the Apostolic Church in observing the ordinance at least ⁽³⁾ weekly is binding on Christians:

"We say, Christ has made it once a-week at least. He has solemnly ratified from heaven the constant practice of his churches assembling to his supper every first day of the week, without making one sabbath more solemn thereby than another. And shall we gravely infer... that we ought to hear Calvin, or any church after him, making it once a-year, once a-quarter, or once a-month, and so distinguishing that monthly, quarterly, or yearly sabbath from all the rest?"

If it be objected that weekly observance is too common, the answer is that where the discipline is rightly maintained it ⁽⁴⁾ serves as a fence from unworthy communicating. The early Christians met to observe the Supper on the first day of the week, but there is no precise time of the day specified for its celebration.

(1) "Works", I, 261-262.

(2) Ibid., I, 266 ff.

(3) Ibid., II, 301.

(4) Ibid., II, 312. Cf. IV, 276.

Yet "As this ordinance was first instituted at supper-time, in the evening, when the passover was eaten; it appears from this name (the Lord's Supper), that this is the proper time for it; for we do not eat a supper in the morning, or at mid-day. Paul's discourse to the Corinthians of the Lord's supper, and their own supper, shews plainly it was then the practice to eat the Lord's supper in the evening, about supper-time⁽¹⁾".

Glas's doctrine of the Lord's Supper emphasises the commemorative and declaratory aspects of the ordinance. While the Sacrament is a real communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, the sign must not be confused with that which is signified, viz., the sacrificial Death of Christ. That sacrifice has been made once for all and cannot be repeated in the Sacrament which represents it and assures its benefits. There is no justification for applying the idea of an altar to the Lord's Table: "In the Lord's supper we declare Christ both our sacrifice and altar, as his divine person is set forth sanctifying the gift of his body and blood, when he says, 'This is my body and my blood'... And thus we consider not the table, nor the tree, as our altar; but the Lord himself, to whom we pay divine honour when we eat of his sacrifice⁽²⁾". The partaking of bread and wine is not the anti-type of Israel's partaking with the altar, eating of meat-offerings, and drinking of drink-offerings, for our communion with God in the Lord's Supper is not in eating bread and drinking wine, but in our spiritual partaking of Christ whose Sacrificial Body and Blood are represented or signified by the bread and wine⁽³⁾.

(1) "Works", V, 9.

(2) Ibid., V, 75.

(3) Ibid., V, 90 ff.

(e) Social Worship.

Glas emphasises the social character of true religion. He has no regard for the religious profession of any man who isolates himself from or neglects the society of Christ's disciples. Only in a fellowship can the duties of Christian discipleship be fulfilled and the Christian character be developed. To neglect the fellowship is, on the one hand, a failure to observe the ordinances of Christ, and on the other, a failure to fulfil the duties⁽¹⁾ of brotherly love whereby the Christian shows his love to Christ. We find that the first Christians assembled regularly on the first day of the week for fellowship in prayer and praise, mutual exhortation, and the observance of the Lord's Supper. In so doing they acted not from any sense of obligation to an external law, but from a desire for communion with one-another in the Lord, and to express their common faith and hope in the Gospel.

Glas repudiates a legalistic and narrow Sabbatarianism such as pertained among the Jews. He does not believe that the enactments of the Hebrew Law are binding upon the disciples of Christ for all time. With the coming of the Christian Dispensation the seventh-day Sabbath as a Divine institution passed away. The Gentile Christians felt no obligation to observe this day, and though the Jewish Christians cherished the practice of their fathers, they too were liberated from any obligation by the same⁽²⁾ authoritative Gospel. The Hebrew Christian did not confuse the old Sabbath with the Lord's Day. "He did not keep the New Testament sabbath from any regard to the authority of the law of Moses,

(1) "Works", I, 215, 216.

(2) Ibid., II, 388-389.

(1)
for it was not appointed there". Under the Gospel the seventh-day Sabbath has been superseded by the Lord's Day. Glas supports his argument by an ingenious interpretation of Hebrews IV. 4-11, which speaks of two days of rest- the seventh-day and another day which he understands as a specific day which "remains" in place of the old day, and which is "a sabbatism of the people of God". Glas concludes that this can be no other than the day which commemorates the Resurrection, the first day of the week: (2)

" So then, this other day of rest than the seventh, is that same weekly day, on which Christians from the beginning assembled together, exhorting one another when they came together in one place to break bread; that is, the Lord's day, the day of his resting from his works".

This Christian Sabbath is the anti-type of the Jewish Sabbath which it superseded. But we must not think that the setting aside of the old day also removes the necessity of observing a weekly day of rest, nor that the abolition of the Old Testament ordinances renders it unnecessary to assemble for worship: (3)

"For,,as the faith in Christ's blood, whereby we draw near to God in the heavenly sanctuary, is professed in baptism and the Lord's supper, which are also the means of our holding fast the profession of that faith; even so Christ's sabbatism is an instituted sign to the people of God, in the observation of which they profess the faith of the promise left them of entering into rest; and the keeping of this sabbath is the means of their holding fast this profession".

The observance of the Sabbath is as much the privilege of believers as is Baptism or the Lord's Supper: (4)

"None but disciples, taught by him to profess the faith of the promise of entering into his rest, can keep his sabbath. A man that is openly self-righteous and worldly, cannot profess, in resting from his works on that day, that he is studying to enter into Christ's rest, or fearing that he should come short of it by unbelief".

(1) "Works", II, 184.

(2) Ibid., II, 387.

(3) Ibid., II, 390.

(4) Ibid., II, 392, 393. Cf. III, 430 ff.

To the unbeliever the Sabbath has no religious value. But with true Christian believers it is a day of inestimable privileges,
(1)
therefore they are to

"Assemble themselves together, in the confession of the faith that is in Christ the Son of God, the Mediator of that covenant, to observe all his institutions of worship, continuing steadfast in the doctrine, and in the fellowship, and in the breaking of bread, and in prayers, praising God, and to obey his new commandment in all the branches of it, and to observe all things whatsoever he commands, as they find them written in his law".

The social worship of the Glasite churches is modelled according to the directions in Acts ii. 42, to which are added other injunctions in the Apostolic writings. Glas considers it the duty as well as the privilege of the Christian to give constant and regular attendance on the teaching, the fellowship, the breaking of bread, and the prayers. The Apostles wrote for the guidance of future believers that which they first taught by word
(2)
of mouth:

"We now have it in the New Testament, that it might be read in the churches, as Moses was read in the synagogues every sabbath-day, together with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which are more sure, or more confirmed to us by the things written to us in the New Testament, the only true explication of the Old".

The doctrine is to be expounded by those whom God has called to the ministry of the word in the churches of disciples, but exhortation is not confined to the teaching elders, for the people of God are also called to exhort one another.

Faithful attendance on the "teaching" marks not only the profession of faith, but is "a notable mean of divine appointment for our perseverance in the faith of the gospel...This is likewise

(1) "Works", II, 251.

(2) Ibid., III, 438.

a notable mean of bringing unbelievers also to hear Christ's voice, who may come into the assembly of the people of God, while they are continuing stedfastly in the apostles doctrine⁽¹⁾".

By "fellowship" Glas understands the regular contribution of members to the requirements and services of the church, especially the relief of needy brethren. This is the sense in which the word is frequently used in the New Testament, and "is called "communicating as to giving and receiving"⁽²⁾".

Prayer and praise have their place in all the Christian ordinances⁽³⁾, but the central act of worship is the "breaking of bread", or the Communion of the Lord's Supper:⁽⁴⁾

"This ordinance is not occasional, but continual and binding, in the constant assemblies of the people of God, on the first day of the week... The union of the people of God with Christ and with one another in him.. is especially manifest in the Lord's supper".

Associated with, though not part of the worship of the assembled Church is the Agape or Love-feast. Unlike the Lord's Supper, which is observed only in the church, the Agape is to be partaken of "at home" as a common meal in which the poorer brethren may share.⁽⁵⁾ The Love-feasts of the Early Church

"were common meals, wherein the poor and rich did eat and drink together, intended for the refreshment of the poor, and cultivating brotherly love among the believers of Christ's resurrection, conversing familiarly together of the things concerning him, at these entertainments. This practice took its beginning from that night, wherein the Lord came to his disciples from the dead, and satisfied them of the truth of his resurrection, while he eat familiarly with them, and from thenceforth it continued among them, as long as the profession of brotherly love remained in the churches".

(1) "Works", III, 439-440.

(2) Ibid., III, 440. In the Glasite churches the "Fellowship" collection is taken immediately before the Lord's Supper at the afternoon service.

(3) "Works", III, 441.

(4) Ibid., III, 440-441, 442.

(5) Ibid., III, 447.

In the Church at Corinth abuses both of the Lord's Supper and the common meal drew from Paul a severe rebuke and an injunction that the members partake of their own suppers in their own homes, not in the assembly gathered to observe the Lord's Supper. But these Agapes or "Feasts of Charity" were not discountenanced by Paul. He only desired that they should be rightly and orderly observed. There is evidence that they continued until the Fourth Century when the introduction of the world into the Church rendered it impossible to observe them in brotherly love. The Agape is a Divine institution of permanent obligation:

"If then we would be indeed followers of the first Christians, we must follow them in their reformation, according to the word of the apostles, and not in the things from which they were reformed by that word".

Glas's views of Social Worship have found expression in the churches associated with his name. The usual order of worship is as follows:- 1. Praise (Psalm); 2. The Lord's Prayer by an Elder; 3. Praise; 4. Prayer by one of the brethren; 5. Praise; 6. Prayer by another brother; 7. Praise; 8. Another Prayer; 9. Praise; 10. Another Prayer; 11. The doors opened to the public; 12. After Prayer for a blessing on the Word, three chapters from the Law and three from the Prophets are read; 13. Praise; 14. Invocation and Sermon; 15. Short Prayer; 16. Praise; 17. Benediction and Dismissal. The morning service is followed by the Love-feast which is closed with a hymn. The afternoon service follows much the same order, except that there are no prayers by the brethren, and that three

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- (1) "Works", III, 447. Cf. Tertullian "Apol."xxxix; Minucius Felix,
(2) "Works", III, 449. ("Octavius", c.xxxi; Chrysostom, "Hom. I Cor."
(3) At ordinary services only Psalms (Robert Boswell's metrical version) are used.
(4) Any brother may be called upon to offer prayer. To all prayers the congregation responds "Amen".

chapters of the New Testament are read. After sermon the congregation is dismissed, the members alone remaining for the Lord's Supper. The "Fellowship" offering is received, after which an Elder consecrates the Elements which are carried round by the Deacons. Then follows a hymn. The Elder invokes a blessing on the Exhortation in which the male members take part one after another. At the close the assembly is dismissed with the Blessing.

The Glasite worship is observed with simple solemnity and with a uniformity which to the outsider may seem monotonous, but the members themselves are deeply conscious of communion in the faith and privileges of the Gospel.

Occasional practices which Glas regards as either obligatory or praiseworthy are the "Kiss of Charity" ("Osculum Pacis") and the "Washing of Feet" ("Pedilavium"). Ridiculous as these may appear to some, they are enjoined in the New Testament. There are no fewer than five references to the Kiss of Charity as the recognised Christian Salutation (Rom. xvi.16; I Cor. xvi.20; II Cor. xiii.12; I Thess. v.26; I Peter v.14). This practice was an expression of brotherly love among the first Christians, wherein they followed the example of their Lord and Master, who condescended to allow his disciples this familiarity and freedom with him in saluting him". The custom was faithfully observed until "the great apostasy from the primitive profession of the faith and love

(1) Glas's paraphrase "Thy worthiness Is all my song".

(2) Interesting reminiscences of Glasite worship are given by G.R.Sims in his autobiography, "My Life" (London, 1917). As a child Mr. Sims frequently accompanied his grandfather, Robert Sims, to the Meeting-house in London.

(3) "Works", IV, 246-247.

(4) Ibid., V, 49.

that is in Christ... But as 'charity never faileth', so neither
should any of the duties or expressions of it be allowed to fail".⁽¹⁾
The Washing of Feet was exemplified and enjoined by Jesus Himself
when He bathed the feet of His disciples (John xiii.1-17), saying
"If I then your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also
ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an ex-
ample, that ye should do as I have done to you". That the ex-
ample was followed in the Early Church is shown by what Paul says
of the qualification of the ministering widow or deaconess, that
"she have washed the saints feet" (I Tim. v.10).⁽²⁾

(f) Discipline.

Glas regards the exercise of discipline as one of the dis-
tinguishing marks or notes of a true church. The great end of
a visible church is the communion of brotherly love. If any
member fail in the duties of such love he must be dealt with,
both in his own interests and in those of the church. Discipline
is necessary to the maintenance of unity in the profession of
faith and love. "Without the discipline uprightly exercised as
God's word directs, a communion of the purest confessors of the
truth must be very impure".⁽³⁾ Christ Himself foretold that offences
would arise within His Church and gave directions for the use of
discipline. "To preserve and maintain brotherly love in free
exercise, and the freedom of self-examination, the Lord Jesus
hath appointed discipline to be exercised in his name".⁽⁴⁾ The

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- (1) "Works", V, 50. The Glasite practice is to give the "holy kiss"
to one-another at the Agape, to new members on reception, and
"on all occasions where a special salutation seems appropriate".
Vide, Pike, "A Plain and Full Account".
(2) "Works", V, 49, 50.
(3) "Letters in Correspondence", 83.
(4) "Works", V, 182.

necessity of discipline was exemplified in the first churches. The Church at Corinth was called upon to refuse communion with every-one whose conduct gave occasion for scandal.⁽¹⁾

Glas recognises that forbearance has its place in the Christian fellowship. Discipline is not to be harshly or unsympathetically exercised. Its purpose should be to win the erring brother not to destroy him. But if all attempts to win him from error fail, there is no option but to proceed to excommunication and the withdrawal of all fellowship with the impenitent offender.⁽²⁾ The spirit of forbearance must never be allowed to defeat the ends of discipline. While it is true that our charity must imitate the long-suffering of Christ who desires that all should come to repentance and the acknowledgment of the truth, it must be remembered that Christ also chastens those whom He loves. Forbearance is not a temporary but a permanent law of the New Testament, yet its exercise is limited by the commandments of Christ. We must guard "against hurting discipline by forbearance, or forbearance by the discipline".⁽³⁾

Discipline rests upon the authority of Christ who has committed to His Church the "keys" or powers of "binding and loosing". Glas distinguishes between the "key of knowledge or doctrine" and the "key of discipline".⁽⁴⁾ "There may be a binding and loosing doctrinally, where there is no manner of discipline" (Matt. xvi.19). The former "must chiefly be understood of the invisible church, the whole body of Christ, no part of which can perish", but the latter belongs to the visible church. The rule

(1) "Works", I, 217; V, 182.
(2) Ibid., II, 174-175.

(3) Ibid., I, 218.
(4) Ibid., I, 233-234.

of discipline in a particular or visible church is clearly prescribed in Matt. xviii.20. "It cannot be the universal church that the offended brother is obliged to tell his brother's fault to, and the offending brother is to hear: but a particular visible church, wherein they are concerned, and which they have access to speak to, and hear"⁽¹⁾. This rule, Glas considers, is primarily⁽²⁾ concerned with private offences between the brethren:

"The Lord himself gave a rule of discipline to his disciples, for the preservation of brotherly love in purity among them, notwithstanding offences arising, and mutual provocations, through pride remaining in them... And it appears from the occasion of it, and from the discourse against pride and ambition that introduces it, ver. 1-14, that it respects only those trespasses of his disciples against one another, that flow from pride, and such offences as are removed as often as the trespasser humbles himself to confess his fault and profess repentance; and though he trespass often in this way, he cannot be put away from among the brotherhood, if he still hear the church admonishing or rebuking him for his trespass by professing his repentance".

But this unlimited forbearance does not apply in the case of heinous sins:

"We must distinguish the case of a man taken in such faults, who must be restored in the spirit of meekness... from the case of one who lives and walks in them, so far as to be denominated a fornicator, or a drunkard, or covetous man, and by his practice declares (however he speak) that he does not repent".

Those guilty of persistent sin are to be treated according to the Apostolic directions in I Cor. v.⁽³⁾ Such are to be deprived of all fellowship, even to the extent of not being allowed to eat and drink with the faithful.

The rule of discipline is to be exercised only within the church and by the church as a whole.⁽⁴⁾ The persons concerned are the brethren, and upon them devolves the responsibility of decision

(1) "Works", I, 234.
(3) Ibid., V, 185-186.

(2) Ibid., V, 183-184, 185.
(4) Ibid., V, 185.

without the aid of any external authority. Though the elders
preside and pronounce in the church's name, they may not act in-
(1)
dependently of the church which alone has power to bind or loose:

"In this great matter of binding and loosing, the disciples
must meet together in the name of the Lord Jesus; not in their
own name. It is his business they are doing, not their own;
and it must be done by agreement, not through strife, or by
parties over-ruling one another".

(2)

Unanimity is essential in discipline as in all other decisions:

"If Christ has not obliged his people to follow their leaders
any farther than they can see them teaching them to observe
all things whatsoever he commanded his apostles; if he has
not allowed them to be lorded over by their elders or bishops
in the matter of their obedience to his new commandment of
brotherly love; far less has he obliged any of them to submit
to the majority of their brethren, as to those whom they
should receive as objects of that love, or reject as unworthy
of it: and therefore majority of voices has no place in this
discipline... And there is nothing like a warrant for it in
the New Testament, as there is for the way of doing by agree-
ment and consent of the whole".

Discipline exercised in Christ's name is simply obedience
(3)
to Christ's law, and as such is ratified by Him (Matt. xviii.18):

"When any the least church warrantably binds or looses its
members, one or more, it is good in heaven, without being
ratified by any other church or judicature on earth whatso-
ever; and when a church binds or looses without warrant in
Christ's law for so doing, it is of itself null as if it had
never been, and cannot be made good by the ratification of a
judicature consisting of all the elders on earth".

Excommunication is intended to be salutary, appointed by God for
His children in their imperfect state. It is a reminder of the
Final Judgment, calculated to inspire fear in the sinner's heart,
and also to move the whole church with fear. Discipline leaves
(4)
room for repentance and may be the means of producing it.

A peculiarity of Glas's later teaching on discipline re-
lates to what is called the "Second Absolution". The question

(1) "Works", I, 238; V, 192-193.

(2) Ibid., V, 187-188, 192.

(3) Ibid., V, 365. Cf. *ibid.* I, 77.

(4) Ibid., V, 197.

arose about twenty-five years after Glas's separation from the
(1)
Church of Scotland. Writing to James Cant of Perth, Glas mentions
the case of a woman at Arbroath who had been excommunicated no
fewer than eleven times on account of intemperance. Despairing of
her reclamation the church finally decided to have no more to do
with her. Glas writes:

"And at the same time a doubt arose amongst us if there was
any precedent or warrant in Scripture for loosing one twice
put away, according to I Cor. v.; or any rule whereby to
judge of the second repentance, or how to distinguish it from
the first repentance, which proved false, though supposed to
be as manifest as the second can be. After this doubt had
settled awhile on our minds, one that had been twice cut off
for drinking, applied for communion. And then it became a
formal question in the church, where it was found very ridicul-
ous to say the church should go on in their ancient practice,
unless the Scripture expressly forbade it; or that the church
should at her pleasure, exercise her power of binding and
loosing, except where the Scripture expressly limited her....
It was next alleged that whatever difference be betwixt Matt.
xviii. and I Cor. v., yet when it comes the length of cutting
off, there is no difference; the one being putting away a
wicked person as well as the other".

The conclusion reached was that there was no precedent for a
second absolution. Glas's letter is undated, but it must have
been earlier than the publication of the Sixth Number of his
"Scripture Notes" in 1756, for in his discourse on "The First Love
Left" he refers to the discipline of the Ephesian Church, remarking
"They cannot indeed be blamed for this, that they imposed the
course of repentance never but once. And whoever fell into his
vitious transgressions the second time, could never be reconciled
to the church, and was to expect his pardon from God alone: because
they had no precedent for a second absolution from excommunication
in the scripture, which gives very plain direction as to the first".
(2)

(1) The letter was first published in "The Christian Advocate and
Scotch Baptist Repository", III (1851), 187-188.
(2) "Works", III, 298-299.

This new view involved a departure from Glas's earlier pronouncement that though an offender "trespass often in this way, he cannot be put away from the brotherhood, if he still hear the church admonishing him for his trespass by professing his repentance"⁽¹⁾, and also from the practice of the churches during the first days of the movement.⁽²⁾

(g) Separation.

Interpreting the Apostolic injunction "Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers" as referring to religious fellowship, Glas considers that intercommunion with members of other bodies is not permissible. Christians are called to separate themselves from the unbelieving world in which Glas includes professors of religion who do not share with him the unity of a common belief and discipline. He does not, however, discourage social intercourse with outsiders. The injunction is not concerned with civil communion, "for separation in this respect would be to go out of the world, or turn monks, and transgress many commandments of Jesus Christ"⁽³⁾. But believers may not join in the worship, either public or private, of those who reject his faith and order. What is called "Catholic Charity" tends to undermine the foundation of Christian union in obedience to Christ.

Glas's religious exclusiveness appears to have become more marked with the passage of time. In his earliest writings

(1) "Works", V, 184.

(2) In Sandeman's famous letter to his father, David Sandeman, who had been twice restored, he closes by saying, "How happy for you, and comfortable to your sons would it be to see an event like this happen again!". Palemon's Letter to his Father, 32.

(3) "Works", I, 269.

he advocated a spirit of forbearance on secondary matters which indicated a catholic outlook, but his later works reveal a departure from this position of catholicity. In "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs" he made the confession of Christ's Lordship the bond of Christian unity. Christians may have different speculations about the truth, yet are they all members of the one Body of Christ. Uniformity in all points is neither to be expected nor required⁽¹⁾. There is but one faith, the confession of which qualifies for membership in a church of Christ. A member of one church is f~~itted~~^{itted} to be a member of any true church in the world. "And this was the catholicism that took place in the beginning of Christianity"⁽²⁾.

Within a few years Glas's views had undergone a change on the question of "Charity and Forbearance". Writing in 1740 he says, "My mind is indeed changed a little about the sense of (Christ's) law of forbearance, so that I cannot settle in the common notion; and, for ought I know, it may change further, when I am more satisfied as to the many questions that offer themselves to me in my search"⁽³⁾. In his "Catholic Charity" (1742), intended as an answer to George Whitefield, he insists on full conformity to the commandments of Christ and His Apostles. He declares that all who claim Christ's commission to preach the Gospel are "obliged to teach the disciples to observe all things whatsoever he com-

(1) "Works", I, 152, 153: "In this truth all Christ's subjects are one, however otherwise differenced. They are of different nations, different stations in the world, and of different parties in the world; they have different measures of light, whence differences of opinions and practice will be found among them... so that uniformity is not to be expected here... Ought they not therefore to endeavour to 'keep the unity of spirit in this bond of peace, forbearing one another in love', as to other differences?"

(2) "Works", I, 213.

(3) Ibid., II, 175.

manded his apostles, which things they taught the first Christians to observe; and, if they acknowledge any as disciples, who will not be taught to observe all these things, they are then plainly acting contrary to his instructions to his apostles, and to their own pretended commission⁽¹⁾".

Christian uniformity must lie in a common confession of faith in Christ and in the observance of the precepts of the New Testament⁽²⁾. Christian Charity signifies "love to all the saints", but we must not extend the meaning of forbearance beyond the limits laid down in the Scriptures⁽³⁾. The Christian Deist regards "Catholic Charity" as arising from moral virtue, "more honourable to our nature, and more beneficial to human society, than the obedience of faith". The Arians and Arminians plead for "Catholic Charity" on the ground that the Gospel is "the best system of moral virtue, with the best motives and helps to the practice of it". The Antinomians call for it "on the score of grace, and the imputed righteousness, and in the illumination in the knowledge of that by which they persuade themselves that they are Christians, without the observation of all things whatsoever Christ commanded the apostles to teach his disciples to observe"⁽⁴⁾. All these views of charity and forbearance are dangerous as tending to make men cool or indifferent respecting the true faith and negligent in the "work and labour of love". Therefore all deeply concerned about obedience to Christ's laws will be "hateful to the charitable forbearing world, as enemies to the Catholic charity; even as they were before hated and

(1) "Works", II, 187.
(3) Ibid., II, 193.

(2) Ibid , II, 192.
(4) Ibid , II, 193-194.

(1)
persecuted as enemies to the Catholic uniformity".

Glas limits forbearance as enjoined by the Apostles to the difference between the Jewish and Gentile Christians respecting meats and drinks, and the ceremonial observances of the old law. He denies that it extends to any deviation from the explicit precepts of Christ and His Apostles concerning truth and order. True charity is essentially love of the truth, and in practice "must be precisely regulated by the New Testament".
(3)
(4)
Forbearance which ignores the truth is not Christian charity:

"Christians love one another for the truth's sake, for which the world hates them. But we have been much dunned with a great noise and cry for charity, especially by those who have been most remarkably opposing the truth wherewith charity rejoiceth. And if the truth be taken from us, how then shall we love for the truth's sake? The charity that is so loudly called for, in this case, must be love without faith, yea and love to the world hating the truth".

It follows that Christ's true disciples are distinguished from mere professors by their observance of all the Christian laws and institutions.
(5)
Therefore communion can only be held with those who are one in the faith and order of the Gospel. Though ready to do good to all men, true Christians cannot unite in the worship of other religious societies which fail to recognise the same obligations.
(6)

(1) "Works", II, 195.

(2) Ibid., II, 196-212, 'The Rule of Forbearance Defended'.

M'Lean writes to Glas: "You seem to me to confine the apostolic directions respecting forbearance, to the peculiar disputes that arose betwixt the Jews and Gentiles about the lawfulness of meats and days". M'Lean, "Works", III, 128.

(3) "Works", IV, 246. (4) Ibid., V, 418. (5) Ibid., II, 212.

(6) "Account of Christian Practices", 16.

SECTION 3 : CHRISTIAN PRACTICE

The published works of Glas contain little which relates specifically to Christian Ethics. His interests were primarily theological and ecclesiastical. We must not, however, suppose that he was indifferent to the practical side of religion. Both he and his followers maintained a high standard of personal conduct. The accusation of Antinomianism is unjustified. After the first prejudice against them had subsided, their integrity of character won the respect of the communities amongst which they dwelt. They considered themselves under obligation to obey all Christ's commandments which included all the practical and moral precepts of the New Testament. Though opposed to self-righteousness, they assumed that the common virtues, such as benevolence, honesty, purity, temperance, peaceableness, would naturally follow from a true profession of the Christian faith. Offences against common morality were always sternly dealt with by the churches.

There are three or four aspects of Christian practice, as understood by Glas, which deserve a brief notice.

(a) Christian Liberality.

Glas regarded covetousness as an evidence of unbelief in the spirituality of Christ's Kingdom as distinguished from the temporal world-order, and also as an offence against the spirit of brotherly-love which should animate all Christ's disciples. Covetousness was repeatedly rebuked by Jesus Christ. It is one of the most insidious temptations which beset men:

"We are surrounded with temptations to the fulfilment of this lust in all the situations wherein we are placed in the world;

"Works", II, 4.

(2) Ibid. , II, 4-5.

and we must watch against it, as a most crafty enemy lying in wait to surprise us, and take away our life; for we can never be truly happy without the victory over it".

The false principle underlying covetousness is the belief that temporal wealth is essential to our well-being, a belief which fosters the "pride of life"; whereas the Gospel calls us to mortify this pride by "the doing of good works and alms"⁽¹⁾. Jesus distinctly exhorted His followers: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth... but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven". This precept is illustrated in the Parable of the Rich Fool (Luke xii.16-21), where Christ shows that earthly goods should be so used that we may become rich toward God. "Both the Old Testament and the New point out this as the best way of providing against wants that may come in this life, as well as it is the only way of laying up worldly substance for eternal life"⁽²⁾. Furthermore, in the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer we are directed to ask "Give us this day our daily bread". This "petition is opposed to thoughtfulness for the future, and is inconsistent with our reckoning anything we have of our own, while the children of God, with whom we pray for daily bread, are in want of that bread"⁽³⁾.

Almsgiving is a Christian duty devolving upon all who have the wherewithal to give. Christ "does not absolutely forbid us to lay up treasures of these things to ourselves. On the contrary, he bids us lay them up. But that which he forbids is, laying them up on earth; where they may be rusted, mothened, or stolen; while he commands us to lay them up in heaven, where no such thing can befall them"⁽⁴⁾. What the "laying up of treasures in

(1) "Works", II, 7.
(3) Ibid., II, 12.

(2) Ibid., II, 10.
(4) Ibid., II, 13.

heaven" means, is clearly indicated, viz. "the giving of these things in alms.... Almsgiving, then, is lending to the Lord, who hath obliged himself to repay what is so lent.... and so it is a laying up with our Father in heaven, the things which, being laid up on earth, might be mothened, rusted, or stolen, but cannot be lost with him who is abundantly able to perform all that he has promised⁽¹⁾".

Almsgiving is represented in the New Testament as "good works". We are commanded to "do good to all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith". Such is the natural fruit of God's grace, "the evidence of our faith and knowledge of his grace... By this we shew the subjection of our confession to the gospel of Christ" in "pure and undefiled religion"⁽²⁾. By some people almsgiving is reckoned as "but a low evidence of faith, in comparison with the impressions they feel on their hearts by the word of God", but such forget that all feelings which do not issue in works of charity are worthless and deceptive⁽³⁾. "The practice of this pure and undefiled religion, then, is laying up for ourselves treasures in heaven; yea, the giving of our money, our food, our raiment, to all the poor, especially such as are of the household of faith"⁽⁴⁾. No man may rightly lay up treasures for himself alone, or amass a fortune to increase his own luxury or secure his own future, for such is to betray a spirit of covetousness and a lack of trust in God⁽⁵⁾.

Christian benevolence should manifest itself in the fellowship of the church. Brotherly love requires that every

(1) "Works", II, 13.

(2) Ibid., II, 13-14. (3) Ibid., II, 15.

(4) Ibid., II, 17.

(5) "An Account of the Christian Practices", 8. "We reckon it unlawful to lay up treasures on earth, by setting them apart for any distant, future, uncertain use".

member should be ready to support, according to his ability, those who are his brethren and sisters in Christ.

It has been supposed that Glas advocated Christian communism, but this is true only with qualification. He did not insist upon his followers disposing of their possessions to contribute all their substance to a common fund. Such, he says, is not required by any New Testament precept or example. It is true that in the Jerusalem church there was a community of goods: "By this communion of goods they were a body of people living upon a common flock", but the circumstances were extraordinary, "for the case was not the same in other churches; where the disciples laboured, for the most part, in their ordinary employ-⁽¹⁾ments throughout the week". Moreover, "the scripture no where makes the retaining of any part of what we possess, in every case, to be a proof of idolatry, or that our hearts are where what we have is. Even the communion of goods, as it is called, which was peculiar to the church in Jerusalem, was not so in-joined there, but that they might lawfully forbear to sell their lands, or have the money of them, when sold, as their own"⁽²⁾. At the same time, Glas does maintain that every member is bound to consider all his worldly wealth at the service of the church, especially in its ministering to necessitous brethren.⁽³⁾ But normally, liberality is manifested in contributing to the⁽⁴⁾ "Fellowship" at the Lord's Supper.

(1) "Works", I, 201-202.

(2) Ibid., II, 47-48.

(3) Ibid., II, 63. Cf. "An Account of the Christian Practices", p. 8: "Everyone,, is to look upon all that he has in his possession and power as open to the calls of the poor and church, to contribute according to his ability, as every one has need. A reluctance to this we esteem one plain effect of covetousness".

(5) "Works", III, 440.

The Glasites have ever been distinguished for their care of the poor in their own congregations. No one has ever been allowed to want. Those possessed of means have considered it both a duty and a privilege to minister to their less favoured brethren. The aged and infirm have often been entirely maintained at the expense of the church. But Glasite liberality has not been confined to members of their own societies. Glasites have generously supported philanthropic and charitable institutions for the relief of the poor and sick, without regard to religious connection or creed.⁽¹⁾

(b) Abstinance from "Blood-eating".

The unlawfulness of "eating blood" and "things strangled" (flesh with its blood) is based upon the Apostolic decree issued to the Gentile Christians following the controversy over the relation of the Gentile converts to the Hebrew Law. The ultimate finding was that these converts were not obliged to conform to the Law requiring circumcision, and that no greater burden should be laid upon them than the observance of certain "necessary things", viz., abstinance from "pollutions of idols", "fornication", "things strangled", and "blood".⁽²⁾

This decision Glas regards as obligatory upon Christians for all time, for uttered by the Apostles by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit it bears the authority of Christ Himself:⁽³⁾

"In this manner, therefore, did the Gentiles, from the beginning, hold the grant of freedom from the burden or obligation

(1) It is stated that in Perth the largest church contribution to the local infirmary came from the Glasites. "Auld Perth" (1906)
(2) Acts xv. 20, 28-29; xxi. 25. (p. 35.)
(3) "Works", II, 160.

of the law; bearing the burden or obligation of these necessary things laid upon them in the charter by which they hold their liberty".

Glas deprecates the way in which Romanists and Protestants alike have treated the rule respecting "Eating blood"⁽¹⁾. They have either regarded it as no longer binding, or have simply ignored it. In his judgment the question is not one of ceremonial but one of moral import, which may not be set aside:⁽²⁾

"It is odd, to say, that by 'these necessary things' we are to understand, these indifferent things, made necessary at that time, only by the present disposition of the believing Jews; the same of which that church in Jerusalem then consisted, who, it seems, were well disposed to give up circumcision, and the keeping of the law of Moses to the believing Gentiles, but could by no means be prevailed with to give up the article of blood! They who incline to talk at this rate, must say further, that, by 'these necessary things', we must understand, partly such indifferent things, and partly things necessary in opposition to indifferent: for some of those things that are here declared necessary, are owned to be very far from indifferent, and affirmed to be binding on all Christians, in all ages, to the end of the world".

The question of "blood-eating" is not parallel with that of ceremonial meats and drinks, or of meats clean and unclean to the Jews, but one which rests upon a Divine requirement which existed before the Mosaic legislation. Blood as the visible representation of "the life" was forbidden as an article of food: "But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat" (Gen. ix.4). This injunction was honoured by the Jews from time immemorial, and was most carefully observed by the first Christians both Jewish and Gentile. Even long after the days of the Apostles, abstinence from blood was a distinguishing mark of the Christian confessors and martyrs.⁽⁴⁾ Glas cites

(1) "Works", Iv, 277.

(2) Ibid., II, 167-168.

(3) Cf. "The Book of Jubilees", vi.14: 'And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is forever'.

(4) "Works", II, 171-172.

(1)
Tertullian as evidence of the view held by the Early Church :
Christians do not regard the blood of animals as food, but abstain
not only from things strangled but also from those that have
(2)
died of themselves, lest they partake of secreted blood.

Glas sees in this prohibition of blood-eating an anticip-
(3)
ation of the Atonement. Blood is the sacred symbol of sacrifice:

"This precept about blood... declares the sinful mortal's dependence on God, as redeeming him from sin and death by atoning blood: and disobedience to this precept, imports disregard to that blood, as being in effect a renunciation of dependence on the Lord God, the Sovereign Author of redemption by blood....For that this prohibition of blood-eating respected the atonement, is most manifest from the repetition of it to Israel by Moses, Lev. xvii... But the true atonement was not by the blood of beasts, which could not take away any real sin, and the respect due to it, was on the account of the true atonement, prefigured by it, which is only in the blood of Christ shed for the remission of sins; and in this alone God's words concerning the atonement by blood are verified. Therefore, when the Gentiles are admitted to share in the salvation that is by this blood, without the typical sacrifices of the law, they are commanded to abstain from blood: for still the true reason of the prohibition remains. The everlasting atonement, whereby the Gentiles, as well as Jews, are eternally saved, is by blood that God hath given us upon the true altar. And so this prohibition of blood-eating was always, and still is of the greatest and highest importance".

Glas holds the rule against blood-eating as a precept of the Divine law, and makes it one of the terms of communion. "He is positive he ought not to hold communion with any who show their disregard to Scripture authority as the only rule of their religion by professing forbearance with blood-eaters"
(4)

(1) "Works", II, 164.

(2) Tertullian, "Apologeticus", c.ix.: "Erubescat error vester Christianis, que ne animalium quidem sanguinen in epulis esculentis habemus, qui propterea suffocatis quoque et morticinis abstinemus, ne quo sanguine contaminemur vel intra viscera sepulto".

(3) "Works", II, 165. Cf. *ibid.* II, 183-184.

(4) "Letters in Correspondence", 27.

(c) Citizenship.

Though Glas refused to allow the civil magistrate any place or authority in the Church, he insisted on the duty of recognising the civil power within its own sphere. The powers that be are ordained of God for the government of society, as the guardians of law and order, consequently they may claim the allegiance⁽¹⁾ of all citizens in matters which come within civil jurisdiction:

"Government and magistracy is the valuable pledge of the divine goodness and forbearance to this wicked world, that, without it, would be filled with violence... This is pointed to, and explained by the apostle, Rom. xiii., where he calls the power that is, and the ruler, the ordinance of God, and the minister of God to us for good, who bears the sword as a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil to his neighbour; and he declares tribute to be due to these powers and rulers, as the ministers of God. The peaceable life that men enjoy at any time under the powers that be, which God hath ordained, is the effect of the divine goodness, upholding the power, and blessing it to the end for which he ordained it".

Christians have a two-fold duty to the State: first, to obey its laws; second, to pray for rulers and all in authority.

The disciples of Christ will seek to live peaceably and orderly, neither troubling the State by infringing its laws nor by calling upon its sanctions. If disputes arise among themselves over temporal concerns, they will endeavour to settle their differences, not by recourse to the civil law-courts but by reference to the laws of Christ and the claims of brotherly love. The civil magistrate is appointed for the restraint of evil-doers, but such should not be found in a society of Christian brethren. Christians will seek to give due honour to rulers, refraining from rebellion or active opposition to constituted authority. Even a corrupt⁽²⁾ administration does not release the Christian from his obligation:

(1) "Works", II, 324.

(2) Ibid.

"Yet supposing the government of a nation administered in the worst manner. It must still be better than none; and the divine long-suffering appears more in any government, than it can do in anarchy, which must fill the earth with violence".

Moreover, the Christian is commanded to pray for kings, rulers,
(1)
and magistrates, irrespective of their character or policy:

"When we are bidden pray for kings, and all in authority, we have no other question left us to ask, but this plain one, Who is the authority? For, if we should enquire further, whether they be in authority according to right? we shall not find a solution of that question in the gospel. And therefore it commands us to be subject to the 'powers that be', to pray for them, and to pay them tribute... How then shall Christians make conscience of not praying for a king, because they are not satisfied of the justness of his title to the crown, though they acknowledge him king, by using his protection and paying him tribute?... Nor has the gospel given Christians any occasion to hesitate, as to what it requires of them toward the powers that be, by putting them upon judging of the measures of government, and whether those in power govern according to the spirit of the constitution, and honestly seek the true interest and good of the nation".

The end of constituted authority must be attained under any government, as was the case in the early days of the Church. Even under a Nero it was better that there was some form of government than none at all. We may not suspend our allegiance until we are fully satisfied with the existing administration, or on account of ill-treatment by the government. If Christians are oppressed and persecuted for their religious principles, they must not resist by force of arms, but bear with meekness and patience the hardships imposed upon them, praying for their
(2)
rulers that God may change their hearts:

"If we be heartily praying for kings, and all in eminent place, with thanksgiving for the divine long-suffering toward them, then we ourselves will be far from an unquiet disposition toward them, or from having any hand in making confusion, and giving disturbance to their government... The Christian spirit will lead us, as it did the first Christians, to trust

(1) "Works", II, 337-338.

(2) Ibid. , II, 326-327.

God with our prayers for the powers that be, and not meddle with those that are given to change".

Christ would have His disciples surpass the men of the world in patient endurance of injuries. Such was the spirit of the early Christians who, though the greatest sufferers under the Imperial policy, took no part in the insurrections of their times.⁽¹⁾

(d) Social Diversions.

Glas's attitude to social pleasures was far removed from the puritanical spirit generally prevalent in evangelical circles during the Eighteenth Century. While strict in his requirement that full obedience be given to every precept of the New Testament; he objected to making laws where Christ had not made them. He saw no harm in participation in games and recreations, or in attendance at balls, theatres, and other places of entertainment. The prohibition of innocent and harmless diversions seemed to him a mark of Pharisaism:⁽²⁾

"We cannot find ground to condemn the amusements or diversions of music and dancing; or even the reading or hearing of plays, though the Methodists and such like plead much religion in abstinence from all these more than in strictly following every command of God, and the testimony of Jesus; crying out on all the diversions of the grand polite world, and damning them to the poor people who cannot get at them, and so are easily moved by envy to shew their great zeal against them".

Glas, however, takes exception to games of chance as infringements of the sanctity of the "Lot" which belongs only to God:⁽³⁾

We cannot approve of any games wherein the 'lot' takes place; because the whole disposal thereof is of the Lord, whose

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- (1) "Works", I, 115. Glas has evidently in mind the political situation in Scotland about 1740-1741. The references are from Fast-sermons preached during this period. The Glasite attitude is represented by the "Apology" presented by the Perth church to the Provost, explaining their refusal to swear the Burgess Oath (first clause) required of citizens in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Perth. "Supplementary Letters", Appendix, ix-xii.
- (2) "Letters in Correspondence", 88.
- (3) Ibid. Cf. "Account of Christian Practices", 9.

providence is not to be played with. When anything is referred to that it must be a grave matter, as in the case of an oath, with due respect and submission to Him who has the disposal of it. And for the same reason that we allow not the game of cards and dice; we condemn your bets and wagers, or cock-fighting or horse-racing, as offensive and unlawful ways of gaining or losing money".

Glas's view of the lawfulness of common pleasures brought upon him and his followers the charges of moral laxity and worldliness.

PART III

THE EXTENSION OF THE MOVEMENT

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SECTION 1 : IN ENGLAND

For nearly a generation the movement initiated by John Glas attracted little attention outside Scotland. If his name were known beyond his native land it was only as that of the leader of a small and obscure Scottish sect which scarcely affected the religious world at large. It may be wondered how it was that Glas's attempt to re-introduce Independency into Scotland received no support from those of that persuasion in the South. (1) Recently there has come to light a letter written by John Glas in 1737 which helps to explain the aloofness of the English Independents. Shortly after the formation of the first Glasite Churches in the North one of Glas's principal supporters, without his approval, wrote to Dr. Isaac Watts in the hope of securing the interest and help of the Independent ministers in London, but the approach was not favourably received. Glas attributes this attitude to a greater concern for preserving good relations with the Church of Scotland than for the welfare of the struggling and unpopular causes in Scotland. Glas writes : "Then they seemed more afraid of their own Honour as they stand in connexion with the Presbyterians, & of the loss of their good Name with the Church of Scotland to which they profess'd the highest regard; and indeed plainly shewed themselves to be more acted by this fear than by the Fear least the meanest appearance of the Cause of Christ, and Christian Liberty should suffer by their neglect." At the time

(1) I discovered this letter, which is in a rather mutilated condition, in a bundle of correspondence preserved by the Glasite Church in Dundee. Dated July 23rd 1737, it was addressed to Alex. Forrest, care of Dr. Watts, at the Lady Abney's at Newington, near London.

Glas felt this rebuff rather keenly, but afterwards was thankful that he and his friends had been preserved at the beginning of⁽¹⁾ their movement from any connection with the English Independents.

The earliest churches of the Glasite connection south of the Border were those at Wooler in Northumberland and Newcastle-upon Tyne,⁽²⁾ and these probably owed their origin to direct influences from Scotland. But in London and the South generally the spread of the movement was due not so much to personal contacts as to the diffusion of Glasite literature.

The man who brought the Glasites into prominence was Robert Sandeman who by the use of his pen expounded and elaborated the views first taught by Glas. In 1757, under the pseudonym of Palaemon, he published his "Letters on 'Theron and Aspasio'". As already indicated, "Theron and Aspasio" was the title of a work by James Hervey, Rector of Weston-Favel in Northamptonshire. Hervey, who at Oxford had come under the influence of John Wesley⁽³⁾ with whom he was associated in the "Holy Club", was an Evangelical clergyman highly respected for his scholarship and his saintly character. His works were popular with all classes. Published in the form of Dialogues, "Theron and Aspasio" deals generally with the Christian Gospel and more particularly with the Way of Salvation

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- (1) "I am not insensible of the tender care of the Giver of all things to his Church, in preserving me at our first union from the Snare of a Connexion with them which... letters had a native tendency to draw me into. He has so far (made up for) the want of their countenance that we have never to this day seen the need of it, as we have no dependence but on him immediately; we pray God that their sin in not standing with us at first, but forsaking us when some suppos'd we needed (their help) be not lay'd to their charge". MS letter cited.
- (2) Interesting notes on the Glasite Church in Newcastle may be found in "The Newcastle Weekly Chronicle" for April 11th 1925 and following issues by "Obadiah North" and Mr. H.F. Fallaw.
- (3) Tyerman, "The Oxford Methodists", 201.

(1)

Though generally the work received high commendation, it also met with much criticism from thoughtful readers who regarded it as an inadequate representation of New Testament teaching. John Wesley strongly disapproved of its extreme Calvinism and expressed his dissent in a pamphlet entitled "A Preservative against Unsettled Notions in Religion"⁽²⁾. But the severest strictures came from the pen of Robert Sandeman whose letters fill two volumes. Sandeman criticises Hervey's views of saving faith and expounds his ^{own} theory of faith as "the bare belief of the bare truth of the gospel". His work was not only an answer to Hervey but also an attack upon the theology of highly-honoured representatives of orthodox Evangelicalism, such as Boston, Marshall, Erskine, Guthrie, Flavel, and others, whose works had been commended by Hervey. Sandeman's book fell like a bombshell into the Evangelical camp and caused a great commotion in religious circles on both sides the Border. It was not long before a stream of controversial literature began to pour from the press. Readers were sharply divided over the issues raised in the "Letters", and in some instances dissension was created in churches. One effect of the book was to draw attention to the movement in Scotland with which Sandeman was connected. Impressed by his condemnation of the popular theology and his peculiar emphasis upon faith as simple belief in the Divine testimony, some of Sandeman's readers entered into correspondence with the author. It soon became evident that some, including ministers,

(1) One enthusiast describes it as "the most valuable book written in any language on that grand and distinguishing doctrine of Christianity, the justification of a sinner before God by the righteousness of Christ imputed to him". Hervey's Works, Berwick edition (1815), I, 19

(2) Tyerman, "The Oxford Methodists", 'The Literary Parish Priest'.

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(2) Tyerman, "The Oxford Methodists", 'The Literary Parish Priest'.

were unsettled in their convictions and connections. There appeared to be a good prospect of gaining new adherents and forming new churches on the plan of those already existing in Scotland.

(a) The Movement in London.

Sandeman's correspondents included several ministers and preachers of the Independent persuasion, the most notable of whom were William Cudworth of St. Margaret Street, Samuel Pike of the Three Cranes, Thames Street, and John Barnard of Islington.

Cudworth was by far the ablest of all Sandeman's critics. He was an intimate friend of James Hervey in whose defence he entered the field against the champion from the North. In December 1757 he wrote to Robert Sandeman enclosing a copy of his "Aphorisms on the Assurance of Faith, which was really a condensation of Hervey's work, and inviting a correspondence on the subject of difference. Sandeman readily complied, and a number of letters (1) passed between them. Sandeman soon discovered that he had crossed (2) swords with a doughty foeman. He summoned all his powers to withstand the attack of his alert antagonist. William Jones remarks that "the writers appear to have put forth all their acuteness and (3) strength of argument." The correspondence left the opponents much as they were. In his third reply Sandeman expressed himself tired of a contest which was apparently useless. "Though I find nothing disobliging in your manner of correspondence, nothing to move personal pique or resentment, but the contrary, yet I have reason

(1) The first six letters were first published in "The New Evangelical Magazine", Vol. IX (1823).

(2) "He appears to have been the only writer of his day who was capable of wielding the pen with Sandeman... Sandeman never had an opponent who gruelled him so sensibly - Pike was a dwarf to him". "New Evangelical Magazine", III, (1817), 2.

(3) "The New Evangelical Magazine", IX, 74.

to be weary of the dispute, from the appearance it has of being
fruitless⁽¹⁾". Though the correspondence between them came to an
end, Cudworth was unwilling to let the matter rest. In January
1760 Sandeman wrote to George Glas : "Last week, I received a
long letter from Mr. Cudworth, of nearly 16 quarto pages, closely
written, wherein he shows his disaffection to our creed in a more
undisguised manner than formerly... He tells me likewise that he
is soon to shew me more of his mind in print, in defence of
Theron and Aspasio⁽²⁾". This defence, published in the same year,
contains an incisive criticism of Sandeman's objections.⁽³⁾

⁽⁴⁾
Samuel Pike, though a scholarly and worthy man, was an
opponent of different calibre. He was pastor of the Congregation-
al Church meeting in Thames Street and a lecturer at Pinner' Hall.
Pike's attention was drawn to Sandeman's publication by certain
members of his congregation. Having read the "Letters" with
mixed pleasure and dissatisfaction, he opened a correspondence
with Sandeman. He begins his first letter by expressing thanks
for an "elaborate and ingenious performance" which has helped to
confirm his own views in several particulars, but he takes ex-
ception to the spirit, style, and language which he describes as
"peculiarly severe and satyrical", and ventures to offer some
criticisms.⁽⁵⁾ Sandeman accepted the challenge with zest, for he
perceived that his critic was already half-converted. The letters
cover a period of three years. Pike was no match for the astute

(1) "The New Evangelical Magazine", IX, 140.

(2) "Supplementary Letters", 89-90.

(3) Hervey's Works (Berwick Edition), IV, 220-336.

(4) A biographical sketch of Pike appears in "The New Evang. Mag.",
VI, 361-364. Cf. Wilson, "Dissenting Churches", II, 85 ff.

(5) "An Epistolary Correspondence", Letter I.

and cool Scottish theologian whose rapier-like thrusts easily found the weak points in his armour. His letters reveal a gradual weakening of defence, though it was not until 1765 that he surrendered and joined the Sandemanian Church which by this time had been formed in London.

John Barnard was much more amenable than his friend Pike of whose sincerity Sandeman was for long suspicious. An early convert of George Whitefield, he became an Independent preacher at Long Acre Chapel and a lecturer at Thomas Bradbury's Church at New Court.⁽¹⁾ Barnard, unlike Pike, was not a man of liberal education, but he was a popular preacher. He also was greatly influenced by Sandeman's "Letters". From George Glas whom he met in London he learned something of the beliefs and practices of the churches in Scotland. In July 1759 Barnard wrote a long letter to Sandeman expressing his respect "though personally unknown, to one whom I love for the Truth's sake dwelling in him".⁽²⁾ He gives a brief account of his own religious history, from which it appears that at this time he held no pastoral charge, but was, as he puts it, "more literally than is commonly intended by the name, an Independent".⁽³⁾ He states that a few friends had requested him to "join them in forming a little church on the Apostolic plan"- also that he had been approached by a society already gathered. He mentions his indebtedness to the "Letters on Theron and Aspasio" and to the communications addressed to Mr. Pike which had been shown to him. He concludes by asking for light on certain points. This letter initiated a long correspondence

(1) Wilson, "Dissenting Churches", III, 365 ff.; Tyerman, "George Whitefield", II, 355 ff.

(2) "Supplementary Letters", 16.

(3) Ibid, 18.

which lasted until the Spring of 1762 and ultimately led Barnard to throw in his lot with the Sandemanians.

Sandeman had watched with interest the confusion which he had produced in the Evangelical camp. In a letter, dated July 1758, he writes to John Cranstoun, now minister at Staines near London : "I will be content to hear of any motions in the congregations of my correspondents, Messrs Pike and Cudworth; as also what my open or public opponents are doing. For, to borrow a military phrase, you know, as I have a wide controversy upon my hands, it is my business to reconnoitre the enemy"⁽¹⁾.

The correspondence with inquirers in the South led Sandeman to indulge the hope that the time was nearly ripe for the formation of a church in London on the Glasite, or, as he would have expressed it, Apostolic model. This hope was increased by Mr.⁽²⁾ Barnard's letter, for in his reply (19th July 1759) he encourages the idea : "If you can find but a dozen of the poorest and least esteemed in London, who appear to love the truth, and are frankly disposed to join you in obeying it, much better to set out with them, under care of the Chief Shepherd, than entangle yourself with others, however noted for piety and wealth, to the grief and vexation of your heart in the issue". He proceeds to say : "If you should need or desire any assistance from us in the business of forming yourselves into the Apostolic order, I have ground to assure you, that the Churches in this country (Scotland) would be willing at their own expense to send you some of their presbyters to assist you for some weeks". Sandeman adds that he

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 38-39.

(2) "Supplementary Letters", 19-24.

has even entertained thoughts of seeing London for the first time. These hopes were disappointed by Barnard's second letter which indicated that difficulties had arisen which made the project impracticable in the meantime. Sandeman thought that Barnard had missed a fine opportunity, and frankly told him that his last letter had not answered the expectation naturally raised by the first which had led him to hope that he would prove as bold in acting as in speaking. He suspects that the influence of Pike⁽¹⁾ has infected him with the same irresolution.

Sandeman also expressed his disappointment to George Glas. Some of the Scottish brethren were shortly to visit London on business, and Sandeman remarks "if a church had been formed they would have had the assistance of members used to the christian⁽²⁾ order". He considered that the establishment of such a church was desirable, and was disappointed with the hesitancy of men like Pike and Barnard who, though in difficulties with their respective connections, were unprepared to take the final step of separation. "If the Christian profession is indeed to take place in London it will give a great grace and beauty to its beginning; and beginnings, you know, are always noticed, if it make its first appearance by the leaders showing themselves to⁽³⁾ be men of unreserved self-denial and confidence in the living God".

Sandeman's hopes of a church in London were revived from another quarter. In December of the same year he entered into communication with a young man named George Hitchens of whom he had received an excellent report. He urged Hitchens to gather

(1) "Supplementary Letters", 32.
(2) "Letters in Correspondence", 34
(3) Ibid., 35.

any like-minded with himself as the nucleus of a Christian society, but to beware of any noted "professors" who might offer to become leaders in the matter of union⁽¹⁾. He says that so far he does not know of a dozen people who are heartily prepared for such a step, but that if two or three earnest persons could be found to make a beginning their number would soon increase.⁽²⁾

Towards the end of 1760 there seemed a likelihood of George Glas returning to London. Sandeman wrote, commending to his favourable notice Hitchens and another young man, Samuel Churchill. In the event of George Glas settling down in London, he "would entertain fond hopes of a church being erected there ere long"⁽³⁾. John Glas was very desirous that his son should give up his sea-faring life and lend his help in establishing a cause in London. "If you can persuade him to stay at home and devote himself to the work of the ministry there", Glas wrote to Sandeman in March 1761, "this would be very agreeable to all his friends, and ground of thankfulness to all our churches. For my part, I would rather see him a pastor of Christ's church in London than Lord Mayor of it, or Admiral of the British fleet"⁽⁴⁾.

In April Robert Sandeman, accompanied by his brother William Sandeman of Perth and John Handasyde of Kippy Wooler,⁽⁵⁾ proceeded to London with a view to the formation of a church. This visit was due to representations made by Captain Glas and the expressed desire of John Barnard. There was a suggestion that John Glas should also go South as there were several friends

(1) By "professors" Sandeman probably meant Pike and Barnard.

(2) "Supplementary Letters", 82.

(3) "Letters in Correspondence", 36.

(4) Ibid., 75.

(5) "Supp. Letters", 57, James Morison's note. Cf. Ibid., 77; "Letters in Correspondence", 74-75.

who wished to make his acquaintance. On account of his age Glas was not disposed to make the long journey, but he was very keen that his son George should remain in London. He hoped that the latter's influence would be successful in bringing Barnard and his friends into "church order". He had Barnard in mind as a suitable colleague to George in the Eldership. By this time Barnard had been dismissed from his lectureship at Islington and had gathered a small society at Glover's Hall in Beech Lane, Barbican. Glas thought that if George and Barnard were settled as joint-pastors of a church Handasyde would be free to return to Wooler. He considered George a "far fitter colleague for Barnard", but said that whatever arrangement was made the men chosen as Elders must be able to support themselves. Glas, however, was disappointed in both his son and Barnard. The former was already contemplating another voyage to West Africa, while the latter, though anxious to be on good terms with the Glasites, still delayed his decision to throw in his lot with them. Glas blamed George for leaving Sandeman in the lurch after having induced him to come to London. To him it seemed "like Jonah's flying to Tarshish from the presence of the Lord". "What grieves me most", he writes, "is that I cannot now pray or hope for success to him in that voyage".

A small company had been gathered to form the nucleus of a church, but there was difficulty in providing an Eldership.

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 75.

(2) "Supplementary Letters", 51. In an unpublished letter to Hitchens, dated Sep. 11th 1760, Barnard says that God had granted the desire of his heart in finding a few friends, and states that he is shortly to be "set apart to take the oversight of them in the Lord".

(3) "Letters in Correspondence", 75. (4) "Supp. Letters", 58.

(5) Ibid., 4. (6) Ibid., 5.

(1)
A meeting-place having been secured, probably at Butcher's Hall,
(2)
a church was constituted in April 1761. There was a proposal
that Sandeman himself should remain as an Elder, but to this John
Glas was strongly averse. He expressed his mind very frankly to
his son-in-law : "You shall never have my consent, nor God-speed,
to stay in London beyond the three Sabbaths at first proposed,
(3)
and beyond that I will not stay here". Glas was also unfavour-
able to the suggested appointment of either Samuel Churchill
whom he regarded as a novice, or of a man named Vaughan who had
recently been associated with Barnard. He continued to hope that
George would change his mind, and wrote Sandeman saying that he
would cheerfully consent to him staying over another Sabbath if
he would use persuasion with George to remain, even with Churchill
(4)
as colleague, so that Handasyde might be able to return North.
Whatever persuasion Sandeman may have used was in vain, for
Captain Glas sailed for Africa.

(5)
Sandeman returned to Scotland in May. A few weeks later he
received a letter from Churchill expressing concern that a pres-
bytery had not been established. In reply he urged him to wait
until the return of George Glas who did not expect to be long
away. "If he were come safe home perhaps means might be found to
furnish you with a presbytery; and in the meantime, if your small
number continue stedfast in the faith and in works of love to
one-another, there will be a better opportunity than at present,
for chusing tried and proved men among yourselves for bearing
(6)
office among you".

(1) "Supplementary Letters", 5.

(2) Not in 1760 as stated in the Preface to Sandeman's "Discourses",

(3) "Supp. Letters", 5. Glas was now in Edinburgh. (p. xi.

(4) Ibid., 5-6. (5) "The Christian Advocate", I, 273.

(6) "The Christian Advocate", II (1809-1810), 155.

The church in London slowly but gradually increased in numbers and influence, so that Sandeman could say to Churchill in October 1761, "I am glad to find that small as your number⁽¹⁾ is, you are drawing some attention". During the next five years, however, considerable progress was made, owing to several important accessions. One of the first of these was that of John Barnard. It has been stated that Barnard "was one of the few⁽²⁾ original members of that church at its formation", but this is incorrect. It was not until the Spring of 1762 that Barnard definitely united with the new church, although his little group at Glover's Hall approximated to the Glasites both in doctrine and practice. Meanwhile Barnard had been in close touch with Handasyde. In March 1762 he addressed to Sandeman a most humble and even abject letter of apology⁽³⁾ for having been so long in coming to a decision. He confessed that he had allowed his pride to stand in the way of conviction, and asked to be forgiven and received : "I know of nothing so desirable in this world as that I and my friends may now at last be one with you and yours". On receipt of this letter Sandeman again proceeded to London, and within a month Barnard and his people were admitted into the fellowship. Writing to Sandeman in April, John Glas expresses his satisfaction that "you are pleased with Barnard, and allowing him to preach, that the church may know his gift, in order to his ordination which may very well be before you leave London"⁽⁴⁾.

After the union with Barnard's society it would appear that the Sandemanians took over Glover's Hall which served as

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 67.

(2) Preface to Sandeman's "Discourses", p. xi.

(3) "Supplementary Letters", 59.

(4) Ibid. 60.

(1)
their place of worship for two or three years until their removal to the ancient Quaker meeting-house at the Bull-and-Mouth,
(2)
St.Martins-le-Grand. About this time (1765) the church received into membership several well-known ministers who had imbibed the views of Sandeman. These were John Chater of Silver Street Independent Church,
(3)
Thomas Prentice of Little St.Helen's Presbyterian Church, Samuel Pike of Thames Street Independent Church, and John Boosey of Wymondham, Norfolk, also an Independent.

John Chater was the successor of Samuel Hayward at Silver Street in 1758. Influenced by Sandeman's "Letters on Theron and Aspasio", he attempted to mould his church according to Glasite
(4)
principles, but was obliged to relinquish his pastorate in 1765. He then joined the church at the Bull-and-Mouth.

Thomas Prentice, after serving as assistant to Edward Godwin at Little St.Helen's for two years, became sole pastor of the congregation in 1764. The following year he resigned his
(5)
charge owing to his adoption of Sandemanian views.

Samuel Pike, after years of controversy and vacillation, took the decisive step towards the end of 1765 when he sought admission to the Sandemanian fellowship. His congregation at the Three Cranes had been torn asunder by the contention over the new views. Pike preached the Sandemanian doctrines of faith and salvation to his people. Some of his members were displeased by

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- (1) Glover's Hall, originally associated with the Glovers' Company, became a Dissenting meeting-house. It was occupied successively by the Baptists, Barnard's society, the Sandemanians, and the "Scotch" Baptists. Vide Wilson, "Dissenting Churches", III, 217ff.
(2) Held by the Quakers for over 100 years. Sewel, "History of the Quakers", II, 2, 50; Wilson, op. cit., III, 365.
(3) Now Harrow Congregational Church.
(4) Bennett, "History of the Church in Silver Street" (1842), 19.
(5) Wilson, op. cit., I, 386.

his later letters to Sandeman and also by his "Saving Grace, Sovereign Grace" published in 1758. The following year one of their number, Mr. William Fuller, issued a pamphlet, "Reflections⁽¹⁾ on an Epistolary Correspondence between S. P. and R. S.", in which he deprecated the influence of Sandeman upon his pastor. Pike replied in a brochure, "Free Grace Indeed", which contained an explicit statement of his principles. It became increasingly evident that the church was divided into two opposing parties. One of the deacons, Thomas Uffington, who was also opposed to Pike, published "The Scripture Doctrine of Justifying Faith",⁽²⁾ which evoked an answer from a supporter of the pastor, John Dove⁽³⁾ the "Hebrew Tailor", entitled "Rational Religion distinguished from that which is Enthusiastic". This literary controversy only increased the fury of the storm. In April 1760 Pike determined⁽⁴⁾ to bring matters to a head. A church meeting was called to consider the proposition "That those who have not revived their union under the pastoral care of Mr. Samuel Pike, be excluded from the membership of the church". The votes proving equal, Pike gained a majority by using his casting vote. The dissentients seceded and ultimately formed themselves into a new church. This left Pike and his friends in possession of the chapel at the Three Cranes. But Pike was not happy about his separation from his Sandemanian friends who maintained that there could only be

(1) This pamphlet extends to 30 pages. Published in London, 1759.

(2) "The Scripture Doctrine of Justifying Faith", etc., by T. U., London, 1760.

(3) Vide "Proceedings of the Wesley Hist. Soc.", XX (1936), 112-113
Note by the present writer.

(4) Wilson, op. cit., II, 95. Cf. Bogue and Bennett, "History of Dissenters", IV, 122-123; "Supp. Letters", 93-94.

one true Church of Christ in one city. The result was that he felt constrained to resign the pastorate in Thames Street and to join the church at the Bull-and-Mouth. In December 1765 he addressed to this church a confession of his faith which concludes:
(1)
"What I have had access to observe among you within this fortnight has given me an idea of such faithfulness and zeal for the honour of God in connection with Christian tenderness, as has convinced me that God is among you of a truth; wherefore I desire fellowship with you, and am cheerfully willing to be ranked with the meanest brother of the church".

The accession of these influential ministers greatly strengthened the Sandemanian Church which now began to acquire prestige in the religious world. In June 1766 John Barnard, now an Elder, wrote to Sandeman in America, stating that Pike and Chater were also in the Eldership, and that the membership of the church in town numbered 106.
(2)
Two years later the number had grown to 149 excluding "out-parties".
(3)
Despite frequent excommunications the London church continued to increase in numbers and influence, and soon became one of the most important societies in the Glasite connection.
(4)

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- (1) "An Address by Mr. Samuel Pike to a Christian Church in London". 6 pp. Edinburgh, 1766. In the same year Pike published "A Plain and Full Account of the Christian Practices Observed by the Church in St. Martin's-le-Grand, London" which has been re-issued at various times as the approved statement of Glasite principles.
- (2) "Supplementary Letters", 63.
- (3) Ibid., 65.
- (4) In 1778 the Church removed its quarters to St. Paul's Alley, Barbican. Later its meeting-place was in Barnsbury Grove. A split in the fellowship led to the church dividing into two societies which are still in existence. These meet in Highbury Crescent and Furlong Road, Highbury. During its long history the Sandemanian church has had associated with it either as members or "hearers" many influential persons, the most notable being Michael Faraday who was one of its Elders.

(b) The Movement in Yorkshire and the North-west Counties .

Simultaneously with the development of the Sandemanian Church in London a movement arose in Yorkshire and the north-western counties of Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland, which resulted in the formation of churches in that part of the country. Already there were in existence in the North of England a number of religious Societies which owed their origin to the evangelistic labours of Benjamin Ingham, formerly a co-adjutor of Wesley and Whitefield. In some respects the organisation of these Societies resembled those of the Methodists and Moravians with whom Ingham had been associated. Ingham read the works of Glas and Sandeman with interest and approval. Desirous of obtaining further information concerning the Glasite doctrine and discipline he decided to send two of his preachers, James Allen and William Batty to Scotland to see for themselves the practices of the churches there. In August 1761 Messrs Allen and Batty proceeded North on what was understood to be a private mission. This visit was to have dire consequences for the Inghamite Societies. The itinerary included Glasgow, Edinburgh, Perth, Dunkeld, and Dundee, where the Inghamite preachers came into personal touch with the Glasite churches and their leaders. So impressed were they by all that they saw and heard, that they returned ardent advocates of Glasite principles. Their report was presented to Ingham and his preachers at the end of August, but full consideration was deferred until the General Conference due to meet in October.

(1) "The New Evangelical Magazine", V (1819), 106; "The Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon", I, 274.

(2) A fuller account will be found in the Appendix, Section 3.

Meanwhile Allen and Batty lost no opportunity of intimating their adherence to the Glasite views. Writing to Allen who had proceeded to Leeds, Batty revealed the state of his feelings: "Upon every reflection of our journey into Scotland, I feel a love to the people, and my heart drawn after them. Surely the journey was providential and seasonable. But the clear light shining among them, gives me to see things differently amongst ⁽¹⁾ us". Though he anticipated difficult times ahead he was sure that many were prepared to support them: "But Gospel light is breaking in amongst us, all over the plan, and the minds of many disposed to receive it". At the same time he had fears how things might go. These fears were soon to be justified. The Conference which met at Thinoaks in Craven on October 16th and 17th discussed the question of re-organisation. It was agreed to abolish the Methodist society plan and to adopt the congregational order similar to that found among the Glasite churches in Scotland. But difficulties arose over other matters, particularly the use of the "Lot", the manner of appointing Elders, and the authority of Ingham as General Overseer. Dissension became rife. Attempts at conciliation were made by Lady Huntingdon, William Romaine, George Whitefield, and others, but they failed to prevent a schism. A breach became inevitable. Though Batty sided with Allen in the dispute his personal affection for Ingham out-weighed all other considerations, and he remained with his chief. Allen and his supporters decided to sever their connection ⁽²⁾ with the Inghamites and unite with the Glasites. Early in 1762

(1) The letter is printed in "The New Evang. Mag.", V, 187-188.

(2) "The New Evang. Mag.", V, 188; "The Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon", I, 275; Tyerman, "The Oxford Methodists", 145.

Allen returned to Scotland where he was formally received into the Glasite connection and appointed to the office of Elder. On his journey home he preached in several of the Glasite assemblies.

(1)
(2)
James Allen was a distinct acquisition to the Glasite fellowship. A man of gentle birth, good education, and earnest piety, he possessed great influence in the district around his ancestral home at Gayle in Wensleydale. It is recorded that "As a public speaker few excelled him; his language and manner were peculiarly impressive". (3)
Conscientious in all his undertakings he sacrificed much for his principles. Allen was the first Englishman to hold the office of Elder in the Glasite connection. This position he sustained until his separation seven years later. It was chiefly due to his labours and influence that the movement developed in north-west England. During this period churches of the Glasite order were formed at various places, including Gayle, Newby, Kirkby-Stephen, Kirkby-Lonsdale, Whitehaven, Kendal, Colne, Liverpool, and York.

The first society was that established at Gayle, of which Allen was Elder. Gayle being a small place, the membership was never large. About a year after its formation it consisted of eight persons, including Allen and his wife. Within a few months

(1) "The Christian Advocate", I (1809), 173.

(2) James Allen was the eldest son of Oswald Allen, Esq., of Gayle near Hawes. Born in 1734 he received his early education at Scorton School, near Richmond, from which he proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge in 1751. While yet a school-boy he came under the influence of Whitefield and Ingham. After a year at Cambridge he persuaded his father to allow him to return home as he could not conscientiously enter the ministry of the Church of England. He became a colleague to Ingham with whom he remained until his secession to the Glasites ten years later.

(3) "A New Theological Dictionary" (1807), 22.

after his return from Scotland other societies were established at Newby, near Settle, Kirkby-Lonsdale, and Kirkby-Stephen in Westmorland. On the last day of June 1762 eight men and six women were united in a common confession of faith, and the next day nine men were added to their fellowship. ⁽¹⁾ "These beginnings of Church-order", Allen says, "made us many enemies and stirred up much opposition in every place". ⁽²⁾ By August 1763 the group of societies had a combined membership of seventy-eight, viz., ⁽³⁾ Kirkby-Stephen, 30; Newby, 24; Gayle, 8; Kirkby-Lonsdale, 16.

From the correspondence which passed between John Glas and James Allen it would appear that the latter had considerable difficulty in bringing his friends into line with the Glasite doctrine and discipline. Glas suspected that some followed Allen not so much from changed conviction as on account of their earlier relationship. He anticipated that these would be a source of trouble. The Inghamite societies were the fruit of evangelistic efforts in which the emphasis was placed on preaching not on church order. Glas deprecated the fact that Allen's disciples were more interested in sermons than in discipline. He considered that they were inclined to minimise the importance of the Lord's Supper, for which he blamed their previous association with Ingham. "Till your people be cleared of this prejudice", he wrote to Allen, "they will make little of the ordinary officers, the elders or bishops of a church, nor will they make much of the Lord's Supper, nor of the work and labour of love amongst them-

(1) Allen MSS.

(2) Ibid.

(3) "Letters in Correspondence", 48.

selves, nor of the communion of churches⁽¹⁾". The people were slow to recognise the mutual relationship of the churches. According to Glasite order it was necessary that there should be at least two elders in each church to constitute a presbytery. Failing two elders the Lord's Supper could not be observed, nor could discipline be administered. Consequently the help of pastors from sister churches had to be called in. Some of Allen's friends questioned if such officers had any function in societies other than those to which they personally belonged. This attitude irritated Glas. In a letter to Allen dated September 16th 1762 he said, "And will not your disciples at Newby, whom you are bringing into church order, when you visit them, receive you as an elder? Or will they not allow him they have chosen, when he visits Gayle, to be received there as an elder? If your brethren will not proceed on such communion and mutual help of churches, they cannot have the Lord's Supper and regular discipline, and so no full communion in any of these contiguous churches till they get a presbytery from amongst themselves⁽²⁾". To another correspondent, Edward Gorell of Hazel-hall, Glas wrote, "When any members of your Newby church come there (Gayle) they are received and act as members of that sister church while there, by virtue of the communion of churches; and even so one of the Newby presbyters being at Gayle, assembling with that church, acts as a presbyter, and with Mr. Allen makes a presbytery to bind and loose and break bread. Thus our churches have from the first helped one another in this same necessity, and so held

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 45.

(2) Ibid., 45.

communion as sister churches by their elders and brethren, messengers, as well in giving and receiving as any of them needed. The case is the same with the church having yet no elder, as with a church having but one; and if the churches in Newby and Gayle reckon those in Westmorland, or any-where else, to be sister churches, it is to no purpose to send them a single⁽¹⁾ bishop at any time".

Theological questions also caused trouble. Some of Allen's disciples were dubious about the doctrine of Predestination which was a distinctive feature of Glas's teaching. Even before the breach in the Inghamite connection William Batty anticipated that this article of belief would prove a subject of contention. To Allen he declared, "Predestination is unavoidable"⁽²⁾, that is, if fellowship were to be established with Glas and his churches. John Glas himself counselled Allen to have nothing to do with "foolish questions and disputes", lest in the heat of philosophical contention "raised by this fiery dart of Satan" some of his people should be "driven toward free will in opposition to the scripture doctrine of grace"⁽³⁾. He considered it better that the societies should be smaller in numbers than that an opening be left for controversy: "Though ye be few in comparison with the Inghamites, I know not but that it may be said of you as to Gideon,- the people are yet too many; the Lord may work by fewer"⁽⁴⁾. Three months later (December 1762) Glas asked Sandeman to inform Mr. Allen that "our sister church, with its presbytery in Newby gives us all great joy"⁽⁵⁾.

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 47.
(2) "The New Evangelical Mag.", V, 188.
(3) "Letters in Correspondence", 44.
(5) "Supplementary Letters", 7.

(4) Ibid., 46.

But things did not work smoothly with the churches. Cases of discipline were frequent and occasioned much heart-burning. Allen records that as early as 1762 uneasiness was caused over the question of marriage with unbelievers which had been considered unlawful by the Inghamites. Though such marriages were still thought undesirable there seemed no distinct prohibition in the New Testament. Certain young men, however, took advantage of the situation to act foolishly and bring reproach upon the fellowship. In September 1763 the London Church sent John Barnard to visit the northern societies.⁽¹⁾ His stay extended about a month during which James Allen accompanied him on a tour through Craven, Westmorland, Wensleydale, and as far as York where a few friends were accustomed to meet in fellowship. Barnard took the opportunity of stressing the necessity of discipline. But shortly after his departure trouble broke out at Newby. One of the members having given offence was excommunicated, whereupon others took his part, with the result that five others were also cut off. Allen himself seems to have thought that the measures taken were too drastic, for he comments, "This was one of the first instances of church-power, which would not listen to any remonstrances, and admit of no resistance. Considering our raw and ignorant situation the measure was harsh and cruel. More forbearance ought to have been exercised for the end of instruction".⁽²⁾ In the other churches disharmony began to appear, leading to withdrawals and excommunications. Within two years the membership at Kirkby-Lonsdale was reduced by one-half. A dispute over a case of discipline caused

(1) Allen MSS.

(2) Ibid.

(1)
strained relations between Allen and Glas, though Allen afterwards admitted that his judgment had been mistaken. In 1764 there arose in the Newby church "a perverse dispute" over a proposal to make some financial provision for its Elder, R. Birket, who had hitherto shown remarkable liberality in support of the church but was now in straitened circumstances. Eventually this proposal was approved, though it was strongly opposed by Mr. (2) Edward Gorell and some others. Gorell was publicly reproved and professed repentance. "This", says Allen, "was the first appearance of that disaffection which, though smothered for a season, afterwards made a rupture in the church." Unfortunately wrangling became all too common. The strict discipline intended to keep the churches united and pure only produced weakness and division. "Intercourse in the churches", Allen records in December 1765, "affords the most striking specimens of the wickedness of the human heart in ourselves and others. Brethren in Christ are better acquaint, and have to do with one-another's consciences and conversation in a way and manner unknown in the world. The courtly dealings of the world and the plain dealings of such as fear the Lord, towards one-another, form a great contrast. And plain dealings in admonition, reproof and the observance of Christ's law of love, serve to make manifest in the church all that is earthly, sensual, and devilish in us". (3)

During the two years following the establishment of the first churches in the north of England Allen was unremitting in

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 82-88.

(2) Edward Gorell was a man of substance and social standing. Originally an Inghamite he joined the Glasites and became an Elder. His relations with Allen were none too cordial, though he was esteemed by Glas and the churches in Scotland.

(3) Allen MSS.

his service to all the societies, but as soon as there appeared a prospect of elders being settled in the churches he began to contemplate some form of secular employment so that, as he puts it, "I might eat my own bread and have to give to him that needed". He proposed to become a partner in a hosiery business, but the project fell through, owing chiefly to the disapproval of his father and also of the London Church, who thought that he ought not to entangle himself with secular affairs at this juncture.

Of the other northern churches little is recorded concerning their origin. As early as 1763 a small group was gathered at York, but when Barnard and Allen visited this city at the beginning of October in that year they found so much dissension between the rich and the poor members that they advised the dissolution of the fellowship. Three months later (January 1764) the church was reconstituted, Messrs Allen and Gorell being present on the occasion.

The Liverpool church was formed about March 1767 with a membership of nine which eighteen months later had increased to seventeen, mostly poor people. ⁽¹⁾ John Barnard of London and Robert Gordon, Allen's colleague, stayed a few weeks in Liverpool at the time of the church's "erection". On their return they were met at Colne by James Allen who had come to answer certain charges or "innuendos". Allen easily allayed the suspicions against him, for the conference "issued in cordial affection". Already there was a church at Colne. Allen remained a few days to assist in the ordination of John Hartley to the Eldership.

(1) Interesting particulars of the Liverpool church which had a long history, are contained in "The Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire", N.S. VII-VIII (1893), 322-323.

He was favourably impressed by the discipline of the fellowship at Colne : "The church at this time was walking in the fear of the Lord and the comfort of the Holy Ghost. I was much comforted with their company and worship"⁽¹⁾. Towards the end of 1768 the membership at Colne numbered thirty-seven.⁽²⁾

In October 1767 a number of Elders, including Allen and those from Colne, met at Newby to investigate a dispute in which Edward Gorell was implicated. Among other things he was accused of "wicked reasonings against the church", "duplicity", and "unchristian conversation at Liverpool". Once again he confessed his fault to the satisfaction of the brethren.⁽³⁾

Towards the late summer or early autumn of 1768 John Barnard spent some time in Scotland. On his return journey he visited most of the societies in the North of England.⁽⁴⁾ At Whitehaven, where a church had been recently formed, he stayed three days with the elders, John Huddleston and Thomas Peel. At Hazle-hall he was entertained by Edward Gorell, and from this place he visited the local societies, excepting Kirkby-Stephen. Barnard's report on the churches shows that most of them were composed of poor people and that they were having a hard struggle with adverse circumstances. Within the next six years the difficulties increased. Writing to William Sandeman in December 1774,⁽⁵⁾ Edward Gorell indicates that some of the churches might have to be disbanded. He gives the membership at Hazle-hall as twelve, among whom appears the name of Richard Faraday, the grandfather of Michael Faraday.

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- (1) Allen MSS.
(2) "Supplementary Letters", 68.
(3) Allen MSS.
(4) "Supplementary Letters", 67-68.
(5) Ibid., 108-109.

Meanwhile the Glasite connection had sustained a great loss by the enforced separation of James Allen of Gayle. Though to the end of his days a firm believer in the main principles of Glasite doctrine and order, the expectations with which he joined the fellowship were not all fulfilled. He himself states that one of the chief reasons why he left the Inghamites was his objection to the domination of Ingham. He hoped to find more freedom among the Glasites who were professed Independents. But he soon discovered that he had not escaped from bondage to "every human yoke". Glas's authority was scarcely less manifest in his connection than Ingham's in his. Looking back upon this period of his life Allen says, "We have seen human authority superseding the authority of God, the fear of man taking the place of the fear of God, in subjecting one church to the jurisdiction of the elders of another, or a number of churches to the control of certain individuals, or the members of a single church to the 'ipse dixit' of a ruling elder. In one word we complain that congregational-church principles have very visibly given way in practice to those of presbytery and prelacy"⁽¹⁾. He was not altogether satisfied with the generally-accepted views concerning the qualifications of Elders and the grounds of excommunication,⁽²⁾ but for the sake of peace he suppressed his personal feelings. Matters, however, came to a head over a question on which he could not compromise the deportment of elders. He had good reason for believing that Mr. Samuel Pike's conduct in particular was unworthy of his

(1) Allen MSS.

(2) Allen did not accept the common interpretations of "the husband of one wife", "having faithful children", nor the view held respecting "the second absolution".

profession and office. Events proved that Allen was justified, for Pike confessed his fault and suffered temporary excommunication. But Allen's remonstrances caused great offence to the London Church in particular. Other churches agreed with that in London, with the result that Allen himself was excommunicated. This took place about the beginning of 1769. Allen was greatly hurt by this action, but he declined to make peace at the cost of his convictions. His society at Gayle and that in York were also cut off because they stood by him. "We have been cut off wrongfully", he declares, "for no other reason than pleading in behalf of the self-denial of the Elder's character prostituted and profaned in the instance of Mr. Pike".⁽¹⁾ Though attempts were later made to heal the breach Allen never returned to the Glasite fellowship of churches.⁽²⁾

(1) Allen MSS.

(2) "A New Theological Dictionary", 21-22; "The Christian Advocate", I (1809), 173-174; Allen MSS. After his separation Allen continued to minister to his friends of the church at Gayle with whom the church in York was for some years in communion, but he had no connection with any religious denomination. An attempt at union with the Old Scots Independents under David Dale failed owing to differences on certain points of doctrine and order. After a long and faithful ministry James Allen passed away on 18th October 1804. A church continued to meet in Gayle until near the close of last century. The old "Sandemanian" Chapel is now used as the village recreation room. Allen left many manuscripts, several of which were published during the first half of the Nineteenth Century. His "Notes on the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles", were issued in two volumes as recently as 1924. The publishers were Messrs J. Young & Sons, Watergate, Perth.

(c) The Movement in Other English Centres.

The Glasite Movement met with most success in London and the northern counties. Elsewhere it attracted little attention, and its influence was very limited. Only here and there, in places far removed, do we find a few small churches established on the Glasite foundation, as at Nottingham, Trowbridge in Wiltshire, Old Buckenham in Norfolk, Weathersfield in Essex. The origin and progress of these societies were not the outcome of fierce religious controversy, nor were they attended by interesting events, as was the case in London and the North. They were founded chiefly through the influence of members who had removed to these parts where they succeeded in bringing some of their neighbours to their religious point of view.

During the years 1759-1761 several letters passed between Robert Sandeman and a few persons in Nottingham who seemed inclined to associate with the movement. Among these correspondents was Samuel Newham, whom Sandeman describes as "a wealthy trader and preacher to a small Independent Society in Nottingham"⁽¹⁾ who "was deeply tinctured with the antinomian tenets of appropriation and justification before faith, or from eternity"⁽²⁾. Newham was acquainted with Samuel Pike and John Barnard whom he had met in London. From them he probably learned of Sandeman's teaching as contained in his "Letters on Theron and Aspasio". In November 1759 he addressed a letter to Sandeman stating his religious views, at the same time asking Sandeman's opinions on certain points of doctrine, practice, and church order. In

(1) "Supplementary Letters", 89.

(2) Ibid., 93.

reply Sandeman bluntly told Newham that until he had attained a truer conception of Justification it was useless for him to trouble about church order and practice.⁽¹⁾ Other correspondents⁽²⁾ were Richard Sanson and T. Bowler, the latter an employee of Newham. Sandeman hoped that through one or other of these persons a church would be established in Nottingham, but he was disappointed. Another likely convert was George Morley whose letters to one of Cudworth's members Sandeman had seen in London. On his return journey from London in 1761 Sandeman visited Morley and his friends. Writing to Bowler a few months later he says, "I find there is some attention awakened among them to look into the scriptures afresh to learn their duty, particularly to consider the nature of the Christian Union together in the love of the truth."⁽³⁾ He expresses the hope that in the event of a society being formed Bowler himself may be encouraged to "join with other repenting sinners in seeking mercy through the great propitiation for sin". Some years passed, however, before a church was actually formed.

In 1766 Sanson and two others wrote to John Barnard in London confessing their faith and expressing desire for fellowship. The London brethren invited them to visit their Church, offering to bear the expense of the journey.⁽⁴⁾ Barnard states that the Nottingham friends had heard unfavourable reports from Newham but were not disposed to credit them. He also mentions that Newham had been invited to become the colleague of Thomas Prentice, which suggests that the latter had gather-

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 42.

(2) "Supp. Letters", 91 ; "The Christian Advocate", I (1809).

(3) "The Christian Advocate", I, 275.

(4) "Supplementary Letters", 62.

ed an independent society in London. "Prentice's people", writes Barnard, "gladly receive our excommunicants... They seem to be gathering up all the discontented rich men, whose consciences cannot be satisfied with the popular doctrine and fellowship; and yet the love of the world will not allow them to take their lot with us"⁽¹⁾. Whether or not the invitation sent to Sanson and his friends was accepted is not recorded, but in October of the following year (1767) Barnard himself visited Nottingham where three persons, including Samuel Newham, who had already been received by the London church were residing. Here they heard the profession of three others. Meetings were now regularly held, and the number of attenders grew, so that in April 1768 Barnard, accompanied by Samuel Pike, returned to Nottingham for the purpose of constituting a church.⁽²⁾ The members at first numbered eighteen. Shortly afterwards they received the addition of Thomas Prentice who had removed to Nottingham to carry on business as a manufacturer.⁽³⁾ As some time elapsed before a presbytery was formed, the want was supplied by visiting Elders. Strong local antipathy towards the new sect prevented the brethren from securing a suitable meeting-place. Difficulties also arose within the fellowship, for when Barnard called at Nottingham on his way from Scotland in October 1768 he "found the church in some confusion". He decided to remain over two Sabbaths, after which he departed with the satisfaction of knowing that peace was restored.⁽⁴⁾ Within the next two years Prentice became an Elder, for we find that during his temporary absence in the summer of 1770 Barnard

(1) "Supp. Letters", 62. (2) Ibid., 65.
(3) Ibid., 65; Wilson, "Dissenting Churches", I, 386.
(4) "Supplementary Letters", 68.

(1)
supplied his place at Nottingham. Prentice held office for
(2)
many years.

The society at Trowbridge owed its origin to John Morley one of the London members who had taken up residence in that town. In May 1768 Barnard, accompanied by another Elder named Davies, proceeded to Trowbridge where they found that six men had professed acceptance of the "doctrine", but were already at variance among themselves, with the result that three were put away. There was also a small company of three at Salisbury. In 1771 Samuel Pike, whose excommunication had been recalled, was sent to Trowbridge where he laboured until
(3)
his death in 1773.

The Norfolk church was established before June 1766, for in that month Barnard reports that at Banham (Old Buckenham) there were thirty-seven members under the pastoral care of
(4)
John Boosey and his colleague Christie. Boosey, formerly an Independent minister, had demitted his Congregational charge
(5)
in July 1765. Considerable opposition was experienced by the brethren at Buckenham in the early days of the church. Barnard writes, "We have scarcely escaped being insulted at our meeting-
(6)
house; but the mob is now pretty well subsided". This church gave great satisfaction to the Glasite leaders. Boosey was a man of refinement and noble character who gladly suffered hardship for his cause. In 1769 Barnard states that his "labour of love among that afflicted and poor people abounds more and more.

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- (1) "Supplementary Letters", 70.
(2) His name is appended to a MS letter dated June 11th 1808.
(3) Wilson, "Dissenting Churches", II, 96; "The New Evangelical Magazine", VI, 364. Pike died at the age of 56.
(4) "Supp. Letters", 64.
(5) J. Browne, "History of Congregationalism in Norfolk".
(6) "Supp. Letters", 64.

To see a man brought up for a gentleman, labouring a very little farm of £17 per annum, for the daily bread of himself and family, partaking in the wants of the poorest peasant, attending them in their sicknesses with refreshments, medicines, &c., and all with such an abundant cheerfulness, that I think him the happiest man I know in the world⁽¹⁾".

The Weathersfield society was formed about 1767 by friends who had been connected with the Churches in London and Norfolk. In June 1768 it numbered six persons. Situated mid-way between London and Old Buckenham it received help from the two larger churches⁽²⁾.

(1) "Supplementary Letters", 69. In Nov. 1808 the membership was 22, with Wm. Maxwell as Elder. The name of John Boosey follows that of Maxwell but is not given as that of Elder. The Church continued in existence until about the end of the 19th Century. The last survivor was a Mr. Loveday.

(2) "Supplementary Letters", 65.

SECTION 2 : IN WALES

The beginnings of the Glasite or Sandemanian movement in Wales, like those in England, were largely due to the influence of the writings of Sandeman and Glas. The first convert to the new teaching was John Popkin, a well-to-do preacher in connection with the Calvinistic Methodist body. Popkin was an omnivorous reader of theological literature, including the works of popular writers like Boston, Erskine, and Hervey. The latter's "Dialogues between Theron and Aspasio" particularly impressed him as a sagacious work rich in spiritual quality. Discussing the book with the parish clergyman he was surprised to learn that a criticism of Hervey's teaching had been published by Robert Sandeman. Borrowing the clergyman's copy of "Letters on Theron and Aspasio" he read it with growing interest and concern. "I could not tell what to think of him (Sandeman)", he afterwards wrote to John Glas: "Sometimes I thought that he was a bold and faithful friend of the truth; and other times I thought he was an enemy, a scoffer, a derider of all true religion". The further he read the more unsettled he became in his convictions. He mentioned Sandeman's work to his friends and sent to London for copies of the "Letters". Later he procured the Works of Glas in four volumes, Sandeman's Correspondence with Samuel Pike, and other Glasite writings. Some of these he translated into Welsh and printed them at his own expense. The dissemination of this literature aroused the alarm and opposition of the religious leaders who hitherto had been inclined to regard Popkin's interest in such publications

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 28.

(2) Ibid.

as a weakness which might be overlooked. Now, however, they felt that his enthusiasm was becoming dangerous and must be counteracted before the erroneous teaching made further headway. Fierce denunciations were uttered from the pulpit. Preachers warned their hearers against the "devilish doctrine" which had invaded the Principality. Wales was still feeling the influence of the great spiritual awakening due to the labours of Howell Harris and Daniel Rowlands. The latter was the most popular preacher of the time,⁽¹⁾ the acknowledged leader of religion in Wales. To Rowlands and his colleagues the Sandemanian movement constituted a menace which called for drastic measures. "I do not know", Popkin wrote to Glas, "if they could exert themselves with more zeal and vigour if they were endeavouring to prevent the plague from spreading through Wales; and the greatest fathers and most respected preachers were the foremost and most zealous in the opposition".⁽²⁾ As will be shortly observed, Rowlands had personal reasons to resent the activities of the Sandemanians.

Popkin soon realised that it was impossible to maintain the views of Glas and Sandeman while he remained in the Methodist connection. After consultation with some friends he communicated with the Sandemanian leaders in London, requesting their advice and assistance. The request was favourably received. The London church decided to send representatives to meet Popkin and discover the prospects in Wales. Writing to Sandeman, who was now in America, in June 1766, John Barnard

(1) "We may accept the almost universal verdict that for dramatic and declamatory power he had no rival in his own age and no superior in any age". C.Silvester Horne, "The Romance of Preaching", 238.

(2) "Letters in Correspondence", 28.

informs him that the Correspondence with Pike, some of his Letters to Hervey, with a few of Glas's tracts, have been translated into Welsh; also that circumstances have so far prevented a visit to Wales. ⁽¹⁾ The visit must have taken place shortly afterwards for Popkin's letter to John Glas, dated in the early part of December, speaks of it as an accomplished ⁽²⁾ fact. Meanwhile a copy of Pike's recently-published pamphlet, "A Plain and Full Account of the Christian Practices Observed by the Church in St. Martin's-le-Grand, London", was forwarded to Popkin so that he and his friends might become better acquainted with the principles of the Glasite or Sandemanian churches. The deputation consisted of Samuel Pike and John Barnard who on their arrival in Swansea discussed with the Welsh brethren the principles of church order. The consultation rather startled the Welshmen who were scarcely prepared to consider such drastic changes. Some withdrew altogether, and even Popkin himself confesses that he felt disposed to do ⁽³⁾ the same. Reflection, however, led him to conclude that Providence was presenting an opportunity which might not recur in Wales. Ultimately doctrinal considerations outweighed all objections. Along with a few others he decided to conform to the church order as expounded by the visitors. Naturally this decision increased the hostility of his opponents. Pamphlets appeared controverting the views of the Scottish theologians, but these, according to Popkin, tended rather to weaken than

(1) "Supplementary Letters", 64.

(2) "Letters in Correspondence", 29.

(3) Ibid.

strengthen the doctrine they were intended to support. That there was considerable interest aroused is shown by the fact that Popkin was able to dispose of no fewer than seven hundred copies of the literature he had translated. His letter to Glas concludes with the hope that ere long the "Letters on Theron and Aspasio" may be published in Welsh, and "in the hand of Providence, give a heavier stroke to the foundation of Babylon than it has yet felt in Wales"⁽¹⁾. Evidently Popkin was already learning to apply the Sandemanian epithets to those belonging to other religious connections.

The following summer (1767) Barnard, accompanied by Thomas Vernor, a brother Elder, and another member of the London church,⁽²⁾ returned to Wales. The visitors were heartily received by John Popkin, W. Powel, and other brethren. On the following day (Sunday) a company of twelve, including the visitors, "broke bread together". Monday was observed as a fast-day when consideration was given to the Eldership. The nomination of Popkin was unanimously approved. Powel was also proposed, but as there was doubt respecting his aptitude to teach, owing to his having "been blameably negligent of speaking, choosing to hear others", his election was deferred until he gave proof of ability. His character, however, was such as to commend him for the office of deacon. Accordingly Popkin and Powel were ordained Elder and Deacon in the newly formed church. During the week a meeting-place was secured in Swansea.

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 29.

(2) Ibid. 30.

On the following Sunday the place was crowded with attentive hearers. Week-evening meetings were also held at which Barnard and his colleague preached. On the third Sabbath the brethren proceeded to Carmarthen, or some place near to it, to meet three men who had been approved by Barnard and Pike on the occasion of their former visit. As the house arranged for a meeting was too small to accomodate those who desired to attend, Barnard addressed the gathering in the open-air - evidently the first time he had fulfilled the part of a field-⁽¹⁾preacher. After the dismissal of the congregation and the observance of the love-feast, the brethren assembled to hear the professions of four candidates, two of whom were approved.

The outcome of the visit of the London brethren was the establishment of a Sandemanian society in Wales with a membership of fourteen persons- twelve men and two women. Widespread interest was drawn to the movement. Barnard relates that at Carmarthen he was importuned to preach. Twice he acceded to the request, but, he says, "as there was no church, and only two brethren, I told them, as it was possible we did not worship the same God, I would not claim the Amen to my prayers. Accordingly I only read a chapter- Romans v.,- and then discoursed on the former part of it; and when I had said what I had to say, I came through the midst of the congregation and left them. Thus I also did a second time, being desired to preach, and they asked me no more"⁽²⁾. Conversations were held

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 31.
(2) Ibid., 32.

with many inquirers, including a Church of England clergyman named Lee, who declared that he must either resign his living to join the brethren or turn atheist. Several prominent followers of Daniel Rowlands, one of whom was his son-in-law, were moved to withdraw their connection out of sympathy with the new views, but it does not appear that they were received into fellowship. A few days after the return of the London brethren Popkin also arrived in London in order to gain experience of church order and procedure. Though unable to preach or pray in English he was greatly impressed by what he saw and heard in the church at St.Martin's-le-Grand. It was proposed that after two or three weeks Mr. Pike should accompany him to Wales for the ordination of Powel to the Eldership.⁽¹⁾ "I have great hopes", writes Barnard, "he will find employment there, through the bustle that is making there about our doctrine".⁽²⁾

After Popkin joined the Sandemanians he became an enthusiastic propagandist, his activities extending as far north as Carnarvonshire.⁽³⁾ For a time he was ably seconded by a popular preacher, David Jones of Cardigan. Jones was a nephew of the famous Methodist clergyman, Daniel Rowlands, and it may have been through his influence that Mrs. Morgan, a daughter of Rowlands was won over to the new sect. Writing to William Sandeman in July 1770 Barnard states that Mrs. Morgan had been recently received, much to the mortification of her father who had forbidden her his house- also that of her husband, a wealthy farmer.⁽⁴⁾

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 32.

(2) Ibid., 32-33.

(3) T.Witton Davies, "The Christian Advocate", II (1922), 77.

(4) "Supplementary Letters", 71. Apparently Mr. Morgan's attitude to the Sandemanian movement had changed.

Much concern was caused among all denominations, especially the Methodists, by the preaching of John Popkin and David Jones. "These persons", says Dr. Thomas Rees, "were in positions to do much mischief- the one by his wealth, and the other by his popularity as a preacher"⁽¹⁾. Within a short time societies were formed at Swansea, Carmarthen, Llangadock, and Llangyfelach,⁽²⁾ while here and there in South Wales small groups were gathered. The influence of the movement infected churches of other bodies. A Congregational Church near Bridgend, Glamorganshire, was almost ruined by a faction which sympathised with the Sandemanian doctrine.⁽³⁾ Not only members of churches, but several preachers also were induced to leave their connections. For some time the situation caused great alarm, but the strong stand taken by leaders like Daniel Rowlands and William Williams of Pantycelyn stemmed the tide and prevented the Sandemanian movement from making much headway in the Principality. A generation later Sandemanian views obtained considerable notoriety in North Wales through the powerful advocacy of John Richard Jones, Baptist minister at Ramoth,⁽⁴⁾ Merionethshire.

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- (1) "The History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales", 385.
(2) Witton Davies, "The Christian Advocate", II (1922), 77.
(3) Rees and Thomas, "History of the Congregational Churches of Wales", II, 227-228.
(4) Vide Appendix, Section 1.

SECTION 3 : THE MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

Sandeman's book "Letters on Theron and Aspasio" found its way across the Atlantic and became the precursor of unsettlement and contention in the New England churches. Ezra Stiles, afterwards President of Yale, states that Sandeman's work first came to New England in 1760 on the recommendation of the Rev. Alexander Cum-
(1)
ming of Boston. But a letter of David Judson to Sandeman reveals that about this time there dwelt in Danbury, Connecticut, a mer-
(2)
chant who corresponded with friends near Edinburgh. It may have been through this person that the book was introduced to the notice of Ebenezer White, minister of the parish. White had been for nearly thirty years pastor of the Congregational Church in
(3)
Danbury. Not only Mr. White, but several brother-ministers, including David Judson of Newtown, Noah Wetmore of Bethel, James Taylor of New Fairfield, James Beebe of North Stratford, Thomas Brooks of Newbury, Elnathan Gregory of Flilippi, were so impressed by Sandeman's teaching that they came to the conclusion that the popular theology, which they in common with others had preached, was clearly refuted by the "Letters on Theron and Aspasio". When they began to air the new views they soon found themselves in trouble with their flocks and their ministerial brethren.

The controversy which broke out about 1762 continued for a number of years. In May 1763 three ministers, Noah Wetmore, Ebenezer White, and James Taylor, were charged before the Fairfield

(1) Stiles MS (Yale University), quoted by Williston Walker in the "Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1901", Vol. I, 149, Note c.

(2) "Letters in Correspondence", 72.

(3) I am indebted to the Rev. J.M.Deyo, minister of the First Congregational Church, Danbury (Established 1696), for information from church and local records.

East Association, under whose jurisdiction they came, with holding Sandemanian false doctrine. The case against Wetmore was dismissed, but White and Taylor were "held to trial before the Consociation and silenced"⁽¹⁾. Mr. White was dismissed from his charge in March 1764⁽²⁾. A number of his members who objected to the domination of ecclesiastical councils renounced the established order and withdrew to form a new church under the name of "New Danbury". The seceders were locally known as "Mr. White's adherents"⁽³⁾.

Meanwhile two letters had been addressed to Robert Sandeman- the first by David Judson of Newtown, the second by three members of the White family: Ebenezer White of Danbury, and his sons Joseph Moss White and Ebenezer Russell White.⁽⁴⁾ Judson refers to the influence of the "Letters on Theron and Aspasio" on himself and some of his brethren who were both surprised and pleased with the leading sentiments set forth. He writes: "We have a great desire into further light into the peculiar scheme of Palaemon's sentiments, and of seeing these authors of which he has given us hints; and indeed all that are peculiarly suited to give us light, particularly Mr. Glas's works, the reason of his rejection of the General Assembly, and all the writings of Palaemon"⁽⁵⁾. He mentions the difficulties and trials of his friend White on account of his doctrinal sentiments, and hopes that Mr. Sandeman will favour them with a correspondence. The letter signed by the Whites also expresses

(1) "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut", (New Haven, 1861), 298-299. Congregationalism was the established form of religion. The Churches had adopted the Saybrook Platform which provided for the discipline of ministers.
(2) Ibid., 369. (3) J.M. Bailey, "History of Danbury", 34.
(4) "Letters in Correspondence", 71-74. (5) Ibid., 71.

indebtedness to Sandeman's "Letters". They confess that they have been convinced by his exposition of truth: "Our former notions of faith, convictions, charities, &c., &c., we now see were confused and inconsistent.... The stress which we used to lay upon faith, as being some great good in ourselves, we now see you have, in perfect agreement with the Scriptures, transferred to the object of faith, the perfect righteousness of ⁽¹⁾ Jesus Christ". They state that relevant books are difficult to obtain- indeed, are deliberately kept out of the country, on the plea "We shall be overrun with heterodoxy". The writers indicate their readiness to purchase £20 to £30 worth of literature. In a postscript they inform Sandeman that one of the ⁽²⁾ keenest opponents of his doctrine is Joseph Bellamy who resides at a town (Bethlem) ten miles from Danbury. The letter concludes "We heartily agree with you in saying, 'Far and wide may the controversy spread'". ⁽³⁾

It has been stated that Sandeman was invited to visit New England, but Sandeman later informed Ezra Stiles that he ⁽⁴⁾ was not invited, and this is borne out by the published correspondence. On receiving the letters from America Sandeman was moved by a desire to proceed to New England. Glas himself favoured the idea. In May 1763 he wrote to his son-in-law :
"I cannot help thinking that your motion toward New England is

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 73.

(2) Vide Bellamy's "The Nature and Glory of the Gospel of Jesus Christ" (1762). Reprinted London, n.d., 28 ff. notes.

(3) Macintosh (followed by Alex. Gordon), "Biographical Sketch" prefixed to "Discourses" (1857), xi.

(4) Williston Walker, op. cit., 151, note (a).

from the Lord calling you by what they wrote, and by inclining your heart toward the writers. Your being disposed to go knits my heart to you more than ever; and you may be sure of all the blessing whereof I am capable to go with you; nor do I question your being attended with the blessing of the churches, who I hope will readily recommend you to the grace of God, and cheer-⁽¹⁾fully contribute to the bearing of your charges". The idea, however, did not materialise until the following year. In the early part of 1764 Sandeman lost his wife Catherine, the daughter of Glas. This loss made him more disposed to leave his native shores to further the cause. The proposal did not meet with universal favour. Writing to his father early in August, George Glas stated that there was a prospect of the London church calling Sandeman if the American project could be stopped. He says, "Considering the uncertainty of affairs turning out there and the necessity of having an elder here (London), especially he who was the means of gathering this church together, would it not be better to abandon his design of going to New England and come up here where he will be so much wanted?"⁽²⁾ Glas was surprised and displeased with his son's⁽³⁾ attitude, for it seemed to him little short of an excuse for not remaining in London himself. Meanwhile preparations were made for Sandeman's departure. He had tried to persuade James Allen of Gayle to accompany him, but Allen declined,⁽⁴⁾ offering instead to take the place of an elder in London if one were

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 75.

(2) Ibid., 77.

(3) Ibid., 80.

(4) "A New Theological Dictionary", 23.

found willing to go to America. Ultimately James Cargill was chosen as Sandeman's companion. A passage was booked for the party, which included Sandeman's two nephews, sons of his brother William, by the ship "George" (Captain Robert Montgomerie (1) 4 due to sail for Boston on August 10th.

Sandeman, with his companions, landed at the American port on October 18th. After a week in Boston he proceeded to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he remained about a fortnight, after which he returned to Boston, intending to go on to Danbury. At Providence, Rhode Island, Sandeman and Cargill were joined by Andrew Oliphant, a Glasite from Scotland. On November 28th they arrived at Newport, where Ezra Stiles was at that time minister. Stiles took the opportunity of hearing Sandeman preach and also of meeting the two Scottish Glasites from whom he obtained information respecting their tenets and history. (2) Sandeman and Cargill reached Danbury a few days before Christmas. (3) They were heartily welcomed by Ebenezer White and his people.

The visit to Danbury lasted about a month, but did not issue in an immediate union with Mr. White's adherents. It is probable that Sandeman had opportunity of meeting the other ministers who had desired further light, but in their cases also there was no marked response. The records of the Connecticut

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 80.

(2) These particulars are derived from the Stiles MS quoted by Williston Walker, op. cit., 151. Stiles has left on record an interesting description of Sandeman: "He is of middling stature, dark Complexion, a good Eye, uses accurate Language, but not eloquent in utterance, has not a melodious voice, his expressions governed by Sentiment, his Dialect Scotch, not graceful in his Air and Address, yet has something which defuses attention, and this is chiefly by the Sentiments he infuses or excites in his Auditory, generally grave and decent, and not a noisy speaker".

(3) Bailey, "History of Danbury", 34; Walker, op. cit., 151.

churches show that David Judson, Thomas Brooks, and James Beebe remained in their Congregational pastorates until their deaths. Of James Taylor no further information is given.

Evidently Sandeman and the Whites could not come to an agreement. What appealed to the New England ministers was Sandeman's doctrine of saving faith not his views of church order. Towards the end of January 1765⁽¹⁾ Sandeman bade farewell⁽²⁾ to the Danbury friends in an address which has been preserved. He expresses deep appreciation of the courtesy and kindness received but regrets "that it happens not to be in our power to return you suitable services as we hoped and intended". He says that it would be no compliment were the Danbury friends to adopt any religious practice because it was observed in Britain, therefore he cannot quarrel with them for any failure in this respect. After thirty days intercourse with them he sees little prospect of "the gospel having its proper effect", and so thinks it advisable to depart. A copy of the address signed by Robert Sandeman, James Cargill, and Andrew Oliphant, was left with the church.

The visit, however, had aroused considerable interest both in Danbury and the neighbouring towns. Williston Walker⁽³⁾ quotes a letter from James Dana, minister of Wallingford, to Ezra Stiles, dated January 18th 1765, which indicates the effect of Sandeman's presence in Connecticut:

"We don't much expect a visit from him in this county. Mr. Clapp suspends his judgment of him. Mr. Bird anti-preaches him. Mr. Williston appears to be in his scheme as far as ye times will permit. Mr. Woodhull resents what you wrote of him to brother Chauncey Whittlesey".

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- (1) Stiles gives the date of departure as the middle of February, but the date of the address seems to settle the time.
(2) "Letters in Correspondence", 97-99. (3) op. cit., 152.

On leaving Danbury Sandeman visited New York, Philadelphia, New London, and Providence. From Providence he proceeded to Portsmouth, N. H., arriving there on April 20th. Here on the (1) 4th May the first Sandemanian church in America was constituted. On the same date a year later the membership consisted of (2) twenty-seven persons, eighteen men and nine women. Included in this list are the names of Robert Sandeman and James Cargill, Elders from Scotland, George Sandeman, merchant from Scotland, (3) David Mitchelson, Elder from London, and his wife. Small as the church was, it contained within its fellowship several people of local standing, among whom were Nathanael Barrell, Colburn Barrell, influential merchants, and John Marstes, a (4) physician. The members were sufficiently wealthy to erect a meeting-house which opened within three months of the formation (5) of the church.

After spending a few weeks in Portsmouth Sandeman went on to Boston where a church was formed within a short time. The first meeting-place was the house of Edward Foster whose name appears on the roll of the Portsmouth society in 1766. This church also contained "persons of high social and political (6) standing".

Meantime Sandeman had re-visited Danbury. From his previous visit he was assured that there were some in that town who sympathised fully with his principles, ecclesiastical as doctrinal. In July 1765 he gathered a few friends, mostly if not

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 99.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. The Mitchelsons had gone out from London in August of the previous year. Vide "Supp. Letters", 60.

(4) Walker, "Annual Report A. H. A." cit. "Letters in Corr", 99

(5) Walker, op. cit., 153. (6) Ibid., 153.

all from Mr. White's "separatist" congregation⁽¹⁾, into a church of which he himself afterwards became an Elder. As he contended that this was the only true church of Christ in Danbury, his relations with Ebenezer White and his flock cannot have been very cordial,⁽³⁾ notwithstanding that the New Danbury church approximated to the Sandemanian order and doctrine.

Sandeman did not immediately take up residence in Danbury. As already noticed, he was at Portsmouth in May 1766. It was probably towards the end of the year that he settled permanently in Danbury where he remained until his death five years later. In this same year James Cargill returned to Scotland, bearing an affectionate letter from the church at Portsmouth to the sister church at Dunkeld,⁽⁴⁾ in which the American brethren expressed their great indebtedness to the Scottish churches for having released three of their prominent elders to labour amongst them. They testify highly of Cargill's work, and trust that the other two brethren, Robert Sandeman and David Mitchelson, may be permitted to stay longer with them. "We love them much for the truth's sake, God knows; but we do not know what we should do without them".⁽⁵⁾

While at Danbury Robert Sandeman exercised a general oversight of the societies established in New England. The little church had to face much opposition, especially from the local

(1) Walker, "Annual Report of the American Hist. Association". I, 153. Walker states that the congregation was gathered by Joseph Moss White, the first of the White family to become a Sandemanian in practice.

(2) Bailey, "History of Danbury", 34-35.

(3) Ibid., 35.

(4) Cargill spent the remainder of his life at Dunkeld. He died in 1777 at the age of 74. Wilson, "Dissenting Churches", III, 271.

(5) "Letters in Correspondence", 101.

(1)
Congregationalist clergy. Moreover, the church was disturbed by internal troubles. One of the elders was excommunicated for intemperance. The church at Boston had also its trials, but in spite of difficulties the brethren held together. Reporting to John Barnard in May 1768, Sandeman says, "We have great reason to observe the merciful hand of God about this church in Boston, in so long preserving its peace among so many and so vigilant enemies, and the unanimity that has hitherto appeared in all our cases of discipline"⁽²⁾. He mentions that both at Boston and at Danbury several members had been put away.

Sandeman's troubles were not all religious. It was about this time that the ill-feeling which later resulted in the American Revolution began to develop. Sandeman viewed with grave concern the growing tension between the Colonies and the Mother country. As a loyalist on principle he felt it his duty to advocate subjection to constituted authority, but was careful not to inflame political feeling. That he was anxious to further the interests of peace is clearly shown by his correspondence with Colburn Barrell during 1769 and 1770.⁽³⁾ Barrell, a prominent member of the church at Boston, was a loyalist merchant inclined to take an active part in the political controversy. Sandeman counsels caution and patience. He advises Barrell not to flaunt his loyalty, but rather to decline doing any disloyal action. "In all respects, what the world calls cowardice is the proper character of a Christian, especially when the foundations and pillars of civil government are shaken".⁽⁴⁾

(1) Among the ministerial critics of Sandeman were Joseph Bellamy, Charles Chauncy, and Samuel Langdon (afterwards President of Harvard). Another opponent was Isaac Backus, the eminent Baptist historian.

(2) "Supp. Letters", 66. (3) "Letters in Correspondence", 104ff.
(4) "Letters in Correspondence", 108.

He reminds his friend that during the convulsions of the Roman Empire the early Christians maintained an attitude of quiet detachment, adding "In such times it is not our part to rebuke our neighbours for their disloyalty, but as quietly as possible to preserve our own loyalty till God either strengthens the hands of those in authority or give us new masters"⁽¹⁾. He says it would be a wild project at present to think of persuading the Boston populace to admit the Scripture doctrine of subjection to Government. The greatest satisfaction that his brethren in Boston could give him would be by studying to keep quiet even about their loyalty. In the church assemblies it were advisable to say as little as possible about contentious matters, otherwise there would be a danger, under the plea of contending earnestly for the faith, "to preach up the British king and constitution, with more zeal than Jesus Christ and him crucified", until the brethren in their zeal for Government became estranged from the patience which should mark the disciples of Christ. As the most influential member of the churches in the three eastern provinces of New England it would be well for Barrell to guard against confusing private and political interests with those of the faith.⁽²⁾

In spite of all his caution Sandeman found himself suspect by the colonists. He was regarded as an undesirable stranger and required to leave Danbury. In Febr'y. 1770 Asa Church, a blacksmith with whom he lodged, was fined £40 for harbouring

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 108.

(2) Ibid., 111-116.

Sandeman and his nephew Robert in his house. On March 19th Sandeman and Theophilus Chamberlain, a ministerial convert now
(1)
settled at Danbury, were cited before Mr. Justice Benedict as "strangers and transient persons" who had remained in the town for four weeks after being warned to depart. As such they were liable to a fine of £40 each. In Court Sandeman spoke at length on the courtesy due to harmless strangers, referring to the protection afforded in Britain to all dissenting preachers whether strangers or not. Moreover, he urged that the law under which he was cited was not intended against sober and law-abiding visitors like himself but against persons of violent and dishonest character. The judge, manifestly uncomfortable, was impressed by Sandeman's dignified bearing and calm defence. Though he disallowed the plea and found against the accused he retired
(2)
without putting his decision into execution.

Sandeman met with much obloquy during the remainder of his stay in Danbury, but his career was rapidly drawing to a close. On April 2nd 1771 he passed away, in the house of his friend Chamberlain, at the comparatively early age of 53. He
(3)
was buried in the old Wooster Street Cemetery, but so strong was the public feeling against him that his body was scarcely allowed
(4)
decent interment. His tombstone bears the inscription:

"Here lies/ Until the Resurrection, The Body of/Robert Sandeman:/ A Native of Perth, North Britain:/ Who in the Face of Continual Opposition/ From all sorts of Men,/ Long and Boldly contended/ For the Ancient Faith;/ That the bare Work of Jesus Christ,/ Without a Deed, or Thought on the Part/ Of Man,/ Is sufficient to present/ The Chief of Sinners/ Spotless before God./ To preach this blessed Truth?/ He left his Country- He left his Friends;/ And after much patient Suffering, Finished his Labours,/ At Danbury, Second April 1771, / Aged 53".

(1) Walker, op. cit., 154, 155 note. (2) "Letters ", 102-104.

(3) Bailey, "History of Danbury", 300-301.

(4) Bogue and Bennett, "Hist. of Sissenters", IV, 124.

In 1772, the year following Sandeman's death, the church at Danbury was removed to New Haven, the capital of Connecticut, where was formed "a compact little group, including several men of position and education"⁽¹⁾. Ezra Stiles records that about a dozen Sandemanian families had recently settled at New Haven, and that the Elders of the new society were two Yale graduates,⁽²⁾ Titus Smith and Theophilus Chamberlain. Within the next five years three other Yale graduates, Daniel Humphreys, Joseph Pyncheon, and Richard Woodhull, joined the New Haven church. In July 1774 the Danbury church was re-established and re-inforced by accessions from Ebenezer White's congregation at New Danbury. Among those who joined the Sandemanians was Mr. White's son and colleague,⁽³⁾ Ebenezer Russell White, who had been ordained as assistant to his father in 1768. As already noticed, the younger White was one of the signatories to the letter addressed to Robert Sandeman several years before.⁺ In 1765, along with Richard Woodhull, he was dismissed from the tutorial staff at Yale on account of his Sandemanian sympathies. Like his father he was a Sandemanian in doctrine but not in church order. When a new meeting-house was erected for the New Danbury church he accepted the position of co-pastor, but gradually he was drawn to the full Sandemanian order, until at last he felt inclined to withdraw from his father and throw in his lot with the recognised Sandemanian fellowship.⁽⁴⁾ Even with these accessions the membership

(1) Walker, "Annual Report A. H. A.", I, 155.

(2) On leaving college Smith and Chamberlain had been ordained as missionaries to the Indians in central New York.

(3) After graduation E. R. White remained at Yale as a tutor for about five years.

(4) Writing in 1818 White says, "In this situation I continued until July 1774 when I was compelled to come out from among them and be separate, with a dozen or two more, as we could not consider our former associates as walking in the 'Obedience of Faith'".

only numbered twenty at the end of 1774. Mr. White was at first the sole Elder, though there was a prospect of an Elder from New Haven proceeding to Danbury as his colleague.⁽¹⁾

In spite of opposition one or two other societies were formed about this time, viz. at Newtown and Bethel, but the Sandemanian movement in New England was checked by the political unsettlement which issued in the Revolutionary War. The loyalist principles of the Sandemanians aroused popular antagonism which increased after the outbreak of hostilities in 1775 and the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Writing in December 1774, Isaac Winslow of Boston refers to the odium incurred by the Sandemanians, and throws some light on the condition of the churches at this time. He gives the membership of the Boston church as nineteen, but this small community was sufficiently wealthy to contemplate sending a contribution of Fifty Pounds to the churches in Britain on behalf of the poor. At Portsmouth the church had passed through troublous times, so that he could only reckon five persons there as belonging to the Sandemanian fellowship. A few others were scattered in various places, including three at Providence and two at Taunton, Mass.. Winslow expresses satisfaction with the prospect at Danbury : "We are much pleased with the Danburgh people".⁽²⁾

The Revolution occasioned much hardship to the Sandemanian loyalists who refused to compromise their principles. The Public Records of the State of Connecticut show that Daniel Humphreys, Titus Smith, Theophilus Chamberlain, Richard Woodhull, Joseph

(1) These facts are derived from a letter from Isaac Winslow, dated December 9th 1774, to Robert Lyon of Dundee. This letter is preserved in Daniel Macintosh's collection of MSS.

(2) Ibid.

Pyncheon, and other members of the church at New Haven, declared that they could not conscientiously renounce their allegiance to the British Crown, and expressed their desire to remove to some place still under its sovereignty, should the local authorities not permit them to remain. The Legislature decided to grant permission to stay in Connecticut on condition that they gave their parole of honour not to act or speak in any way likely to injure this State or the United States of America. In the event of refusal they were to be allowed to depart.⁽¹⁾ Not all consented to give their parole. Stiles records that some of the Sandemanian brethren were imprisoned on account of loyalty to the King.⁽²⁾ A number of Sandemanians did take the opportunity of withdrawal to British territory. Their dispersion led to the formation of two new churches, one at York, Me., and the other at Halifax, N. S. The first had a short history but the latter became firmly established.

The later history of Sandemanianism in America does not strictly belong to our purview, but a few interesting facts deserve to be noted. The Sandemanian churches never really recovered from the effects of the Revolution. While one or two societies enjoyed some measure of success and prosperity, the majority showed signs of decline. Though the political situation was eased other difficulties arose to weaken the churches. Internal disputes over questions of doctrine and practice resulted in secessions and excommunications. Writing to Robert Ferrier in May 1782 Edward Foster laments the changed days in

(1) The Act of the Connecticut Legislature is quoted in full by Williston Walker, "Annual Report A. H. A.", I, 156, note c.
(2) Walker, op. cit., 156, note c.

Boston where once there had been a flourishing church. Whereas twenty-six members used to meet regularly for the Lord's Supper, there now remained only three persons to represent the fellowship. The Portsmouth church had also declined in membership. In 1766 it numbered twenty-seven; now it was reduced to six. At Providence the society was very small. Taunton, however, had recently had several accessions. Foster deplores the slowness of attenders and friends to connect themselves definitely with the churches. Referring to his own society at Halifax he remarks : "We have on Sabbath days considerable audience, and some appear attentive: but none have confidence enough in the truth to become professors of it. And one thing observable about us is, what may well suggest reason of fear, that none of our children have ever made the profession of Christ's name" . He mentions that his own three grown-up married children, while apparently interested in the connection, and regular attenders at public worship, show no inclination to proceed further, as is also the case with the children of the other brethren⁽¹⁾. This was the common experience of the Sandemanian churches.

In Connecticut the churches at Newtown and Danbury showed most signs of life. Foster states that they were attracting considerable attention in their respective communities⁽²⁾. So far there had been no increase in membership at Danbury, but during the next ten years the numbers were trebled. Unfortunately the

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 130-134.

(2) Ibid., 132. The presence of the Sandemanian society in Newtown was for several years a disturbing influence on the local Congregational Church. "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut", 446, 294.

spirit of dissension crept into the church. The first serious trouble arose through the action of Oliver Burr, a member of the Newtown society who had recently settled in Danbury. Burr decided to build himself a house, but some of the local brethren objected to this proposal as an infringement of the law against "laying up treasures on earth". On referring the matter to the church Burr was exonerated by a majority. Those of the minority who refused to acquiesce were excommunicated. Protests were made by the churches at Boston and Taunton. Eventually a council of the churches was arranged to meet at Taunton in February 1789. This assembly, composed of delegates from Danbury, Newtown, Boston, Portsmouth, and Taunton, sustained the decision of the Danbury church. (1) A few years later some of the Danbury members reverted to the stricter view regarding earthly wealth. Among these was Ebenezer Russell White. Unable to persuade the majority, White and his supporters felt "compelled to separate from such a corrupt society". Accordingly they withdrew in March 1798 to form a new church on stricter principles. Nearly twenty years later (1817) "White's church" was depleted by the secession of four members, (2) led by Levi Osborn, who had adopted Baptist views. Osborn proceeded to New York where he was immersed by Henry Errett at that time an Elder of a Haldaneite society but later a leader of the Campbellite or "Disciples" movement. On his return to Danbury Levi Osborn baptised the other three seceders one of whom was his wife. Within a short time this new group

(1) Walker, "Annual Report A. H. A . ", I, 158-160.
(2) Ibid., 160; Bailey, "History of Danbury", 300.

increased in numbers. Locally they were known as "Osbornites". After the rise of the "Restoration" movement this church merged with the "Disciples", since which time it has had a long and interesting history. Mr. White's congregation gradually declined, as did also the original Sandemanian church.

One by one the Sandemanian churches languished and died. Few new members came forward to replace those who passed away. Writing to Eliezer Chater, an Elder of the London church, in 1809 Daniel Salmon of Trumbull, Conn., says, "There seems to be little attention in these days to the concerns of the profession. It seems to be overlooked or swallowed up either about national concerns or in that enthusiastic zeal of the religious world striving to excell each other in promoting self-righteousness; and in this Messrs. Humphreys, White, & Co. have taken an active part. The breⁿ. in this country are few & feeble, scattered up & down in many places, & we have only one Elder in America, & he is more than sixty years of age. We have not for a long time seen the full order of God's house, & our worthy Elder E(zra) Peck has been confined for a long time as he had the misfortune to have his leg broke". Later in this communication Salmon reports that he has just received a letter from Boston stating that "Bro^r. Peck has so far recovered his health to be able to meet with the church & that there has been several additions to the church". Salmon also mentions that recently a small society had been formed at Harpersfield, N.Y.

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- (1) "The Millennial Harbinger", I (1835), 14; Garrison, "Religion Follows the Frontier", 201; Walker, op. cit., 160-161.
(2) Walker, ibid, 161.
(3) These facts are derived from the original letter in the Macintosh collection of MSS. preserved in Dundee.

Professor Williston Walker surmises that "By 1830 the Sandemanian movement in America had spent whatever feeble force it had ever possessed"⁽¹⁾. This judgment may be accepted as correct. The last surviving church was that at Danbury which continued its existence until the last decade of the Nineteenth⁽²⁾ century.

(1) Walker, op. cit., 158.

(2) Ibid., 161; Bailey, "History of Danbury", 299.

PART IV

AN EVALUATION OF THE MOVEMENT

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More than two hundred years have passed since the separation of John Glas from the Church of Scotland and the establishment of his first churches. The movement then initiated has long been a spent force. Today only four small churches remain (one in Edinburgh, one in Glasgow, and two in London⁽¹⁾) to represent the Glasite or Sandemanian connection. In addition, a few scattered individuals, in places where the societies have died out, still cherish the memories and principles of their fathers. The Glasite body has always ranked as one of the smallest religious denominations. Even in the palmiest days of the movement it is questionable if the total number of churches ever reached forty, or the aggregate membership exceeded one thousand. Yet this numerically insignificant body at one time caused no little stir in the religious world and exercised an influence out of all proportion to its size. During the greater part of the Eighteenth Century, and for a few decades later, the writings of Glas and his colleagues were widely read. Among those who identified themselves with the fellowship were persons of education and social standing, including ministers of the Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist, and Methodist communions. Many who never joined the membership imbibed some of the Glasite tenets which they introduced into their own religious groups. During its history the movement has had associated with it, either directly or indirectly, many distinguished people in the realms

(1) These four churches do not form a united fellowship. One of the London churches is in communion with Edinburgh, the other with Glasgow. A dispute over the question of "blood-eating" caused a schism about the middle of last century.

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of literature and science. In bringing this study to a close we may try to estimate the influence of the Glasite movement and to discover the causes of its decline.

The movement arose in Scotland during the period following the long struggle of Presbyterianism to secure its position as the national form of religion. The Revolution Settlement, however, did not usher in an era of peace and unity. The history of Scottish religion in the Eighteenth Century is one of theological controversy and ecclesiastical division. Hitherto Presbyterianism had presented a solid front to both Episcopacy and Independency, but this century was to see several secessions which resulted in the rise of new denominations, Presbyterian and Independent. The Revolution Settlement not only led to the exclusion of those Episcopalians who refused to conform, but also to the isolation of the Cameronians, or extreme Presbyterians, who remained outside a Church which they regarded as "uncovenanted", for in the new compact between Church and State the old Covenants had been ignored. But within the National Church there were also many who held the binding obligation of the Covenants and hoped for their renewal. Opposed to these Evangelicals were the Moderates who cared little for the Covenants and disliked a narrow, dogmatic,

(1) In science the most illustrious name is that of Michael Faraday who was a Glasite Elder. In literature the outstanding name is that of William Godwin, whose association with the movement was but a passing phase of his varied career. The son of a Dissenting minister, Godwin was intended for the Independent ministry. On application to Homerton Academy he was refused admission on account of his Sandemanian sympathies, but he was received as a student at Hoxton Academy. Though later he broke away from organised religion he carried with him the influence of Sandemanianism. Vide: H.N.Brailsford, "Shelley, Godwin, and their Circle", 78-80; "The Times Literary Supplement", April 4th 1936; "The Scots Magazine", August 1936, Article by Alan Graeme on "The Kail Kirk", p. 345.

and enthusiastic type of religion. This party was destined to become the dominant force in the Church of Scotland for about a century. With both Moderates and Evangelicals Glas had something in common. Like the former he denied the binding character of the Covenants, but with the latter he emphasised the importance of spiritual religion as distinguished from conventional morality. But Glas could not identify himself with either party. He objected to the Establishment principle so stoutly maintained by the Moderates, some of whom were distinctly Erastian; he also disliked their indifference to theology and their cold respectability. On the other hand, he disapproved of the importance attached by the Evangelicals to the Westminster Confession of Faith, which to him was merely a human document unwarranted by the Word of God. Consequently Glas stood outside the two principal parties in the National Church. His attitude and principles incurred the disfavour of both parties, though it was from the Evangelicals rather than from the Moderates that the chief opposition came.⁽¹⁾ As previously noticed, he found defenders in both camps, but these were unable to prevent his deposition from the ministry of the Church. Though his withdrawal was compulsory, there is a sense in which Glas was the leader of the first secession from the Church of Scotland. Unlike later leaders of secessions, the Erskines and Gillespie, who retained the Presbyterian polity, Glas's movement, like that of the Haldanes at the end of the century, was developed along Independent lines.

Glas's break with classical Presbytery was final. In his

(1) Supra, 55-56.

conception of the nature and constitution of the Christian Church he was decidedly an Independent. But, though rarely admitted, the Glasite movement was not without repercussions on Scottish Presbyterianism during the period extending from the Secession to the Disruption. The increasing emphasis by the Secession and Relief Fathers on the essentially spiritual nature of Christ's Kingdom reflects the position first definitely advocated in Scotland by John Glas. As early as 1726, before Glas's separation from the Church of Scotland, we find Ebenezer Erskine, at that time also a minister of the National Church, writing to Glas approving of his "exaltation of the Mighty God and the Prince of Peace, on whose shoulders the government of his Church is laid, and the levelling of everything that would usurp his Throne or jostle him out of his room, as the alone foundation God hath laid in Zion". Erskine goes on to say that he also had thought that "the Civil Constitution was too much blended with the affairs of Christ's Kingdom which is not of this world, in these public engagements; as also that the way of forcing people to subscribe was not the way to make proselytes to Christ, the weapons of whose Kingdom are not carnal but spiritual,- suited to the soul and spirit, where his Kingdom is principally established"⁽¹⁾. In later days strong antipathy developed between the followers of Glas and those of Erskine, so that the latter were loth to acknowledge any indebtedness to Glas, but the debt was none the less real. It is true that the Secession Fathers differed from Glas on the questions of the Covenants and the polity of the Church, yet they were at

(1) "Supplementary Letters", Appendix, p. vi.

one with him in his antagonism to the invasion of Christ's prerogative by the secular power. Evangelical in their outlook, they viewed with deep concern the Erastian and latitudinarian tendencies of the Moderate party which was gradually acquiring the ascendancy in the Church. It only required the passing of the Act anent the election of ministers, by the Assembly of 1732, to bring matters to a head. Erskine and others regarded this Act as a violation of the inherent rights of the Church, as well as an encroachment on the privileges of the Christian people in their choice of pastors. Ebenezer Erskine's words to his parishoners at this time might have been uttered by Glas himself, so like are they to his sentiments: "Is it so that the government is laid upon His shoulders? Then see the nullity of all acts, laws and constitutions, that do not bear the stamp of Christ, and that are not consistent with the laws and orders He has left for the government of His Church. They cannot miss to be null, because Zion's King never touched them with His sceptre, and there is no church authority but what is derived from Him⁽¹⁾".

These words are almost a paraphrase of those already quoted from Erskine's letter to Glas six years before. At the outset the Seceders had no intention of abandoning the Establishment principle, but in course of time the logic of fact and event forced them in the direction of Voluntaryism, similar to that which originated with Glas.

The Relief Church also owed something to the pioneer work of John Glas. It is not here contended that their principles

(1) A.R. MacEwen, "The Erskines", 67.

were directly derived from him. Before Thomas Gillespie entered the Church of Scotland he held views in some respects similar to those of Glas. Trained and ordained by the English Independents, his thought was naturally influenced by their conceptions of the spirituality and independence of the Church. Dr. Struthers speaks of "his clear views of the nature of the kingdom of Christ, and his conscientious adherence to his convictions of what he esteemed to be the doctrine of scripture"⁽¹⁾. He would only sign the Confession of Faith with reservations concerning the article on the power of the civil magistrate in the sphere of religion. Later, when ecclesiastical requirements conflicted with his principles, he refused to compromise on this vital issue, as a result of which he was deposed by the Assembly. Several years passed before the constitution of the first Relief Presbytery in 1761, but after this date a number of congregations were formed. The constitutional basis of the new body was much broader than that of the Seceders. As Struthers observes, the Relief leaders had the advantage of learning from the testimonies and experiences of previous Dissenters. It is highly probable that Gillespie was acquainted with Glas's teaching on the nature of Christ's Kingdom, but it is certain that the later leaders of the Relief were influenced by it. "Some of the Fathers of the Relief", says Struthers, "have been more indebted to Glas for their views of the kingdom of Christ than what at first sight appears. They took the outlines of his system, but not his crotchets"⁽²⁾. He even ventures the opinion that had the Glasites "united the sauviety of the Gospel

(1) Gavin Struthers, "The History of the Relief Church", 8.
(2) Ibid., 179.

with their spiritual views of the Messiah's kingdom, there would have been little room for the Relief⁽¹⁾". The opponents of the Relief charged them with being "copyists from Glas". A comparison of Patrick Hutcheson's work on "Messiah's Kingdom" with Glas's "Testimony of the King of Martyrs" shows how closely the Relief apologist had followed Glas in his main contentions.⁽²⁾ "The Relief", declares Dr. A.J.Campbell, "was the seed-plot of the doctrine which was afterwards known in Scotland as Voluntaryism.. The civil magistrate had 'nothing to do' with the religious beliefs of his subjects. 'The meanest subject in the state has as good a right to judge in matters of religion for himself as the prince on the throne'. In religion there could be no compulsion; and therefore the Covenants, which contemplated the use of compulsion to establish religious uniformity in the British kingdoms, were not of permanent obligation"⁽³⁾. Campbell admits that "Voluntaryism originated perhaps in John Glas", also that "there is evidence that Glas influenced strongly the early apologists of the Relief"⁽⁴⁾.

Glas's greatest influence, however, is not to be sought in Scottish Presbyterianism, but in a number of religious denominations, mostly small, which took their rise, either towards the end of his life-time, or during the half-century which followed. While the Secession and Relief Churches followed Glas in his views of the nature of Christ's Kingdom, they maintained their allegiance to the recognised Presbyterian doctrine and polity. The other bodies which came under the Glasite influence were

(1) Struthers, op. cit., 179.

(2) P.Hutcheson, "Messiah's Kingdom", 81, 171 ff.

(3) A.J.Campbell, "Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland", 90-91

(4) Ibid.

mainly Independents in church order. Passing by a few small groups like the "Bereans"⁽¹⁾ and the "Johnsonians"⁽²⁾, we come to six denominations which were distinctly affected by Glasite theological, ecclesiastical, and practical teaching, viz., the "Scotch Baptists", the Old Scots Independents, the Inghamites, the Haldaneites, the Walkerites, and the "Disciples" or Campbellites. Though none of these bodies accepted everything in Glas's teaching, all reproduced or imitated, in varying degrees, certain aspects of his system. Some of these denominations are now either non-existent or reduced to very small numbers, viz., the Walkerites, the Inghamites and Old Scots Independents; the "Scotch Baptists" and the Haldaneites have merged with either the Baptist or Congregational Churches; while the "Disciples" continue as a large and growing denomination. In view of the extent of Glas's influence upon these bodies, it has been decided to reserve fuller treatment to the Appendix.

Sufficient has been said to justify the conclusion that the Glasite movement has had greater effects than is generally realised. Whatever may be thought of the movement as a whole, it possessed features which appealed to the minds and hearts of many deeply religious and thoughtful people. Though the Eighteenth Century can scarcely be described as an age of constructive theological thought, it was not lacking in intellectual activity

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- (1) The followers of John Barclay who withdrew from the Church of Scotland in 1773. A diligent student of Glas, he evolved an independent system of thought with similarities to the Glasite conception of faith. Vide Barclay's "Assurance of Faith".
- (2) Named after John Johnson, a General Baptist, of Liverpool. Vide Johnson's "The Faith of God's Elect"; Robert Dawburn's "The History of a Forgotten Sect of Baptised Believers".

and speculative interests in the truths of Divine revelation. It was a time of intellectual and spiritual awakening, the full fruits of which were not to appear until after many days. Our present modes of thought and principles of interpretation are far removed from those of two hundred, or even one hundred years ago, therefore allowance must be made for the limitations of a transitional period. In some respects a pioneer, John Glas was a man of his own age- one who never fully escaped from the restricting influences of the traditional theology which he himself so severely criticised. It would be idle to claim that he has left any original or permanent contribution to theological thought. Most of his ideas were derived directly or indirectly from previous thinkers. "It would be no easy task", says William Jones, "to adduce a sentiment of any importance from his writings, which cannot be traced to those of Dr. Owen, and other Evangelical authors previous to the days of Mr. Glas"⁽¹⁾. His views on the nature of Christ's Kingdom were influenced by the teaching of Bishop Hoadly⁽²⁾, while those which he entertained respecting the constitution of the Church reveal how carefully he had studied the works of John Owen⁽³⁾. But Glas was not a slavish copyist of any thinker. His starting-point was the Divine revelation in the Scriptures. He followed others only as far as he believed they followed the inspired Word of God, and he often carried the implications of their principles beyond the point at which they stopped.

Glas was stronger in criticism than in construction. He

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- (1) "The New Evangelical Magazine", IV, 380.
(2) Benjamin Hoadly, "The Nature of the Kingdom, or Church of Christ". Sermon preached before the King, March 31st 1717.
(3) Cf. Owen's "The True Nature of a Gospel Church".

was quick to perceive and expose the inconsistencies of the popular theology. He felt that the fundamental Christian truths had been obscured by a super-structure of scholastic interpretation, or subordinated to a shallow mysticism and an evanescent emotionalism. Consequently he endeavoured to correct the errors of ancient or contemporary theology, and to emphasise the historic foundations of the Christian Faith. Christianity was not the fruit of philosophical speculation or mystical feeling, but the revealed truth of God in Jesus Christ. His view of religion was transcendental rather than immanent- hence his insistence on the objectivity of truth as manifested in the Historic Christ. He suspected all claims to religious experience which rested on a purely subjective basis. Had he lived today he would have approved much in the Neo-Calvinism which stresses "the Wholly Other", the Sovereignty of God, Human Inability, and Free Grace. Glas considered that current religion, having lost its way, needed to be brought into conformity with the simple and definite faith of the Apostles. Thus the burden of his cry was, "Back to the New Testament!" It was this call which gained the ear of his contemporaries. There was that in his presentation of the Gospel which impressed the minds of religious people to whom the popular preaching seemed inadequate, and who desired the positive note in the exposition of Christian truth. Even Andrew Fuller, the most trenchant critic of the Glasite system as a whole, affirms, "The principles taught by Messrs. Glass and Sandeman.. did certainly give a new turn and character to almost everything pertaining to the religion of Christ, as must appear to any one who reads and understands their publications".

(1) Andrew Fuller, "Works" (1831), II, 334.

How then do we explain the failure of the Glasite movement to gather strength as a religious force? There are several reasons, all of which show that the causes of weakness and decline are to be found in the movement itself, not in any external opposition or persecution. Indeed, the period of its greatest success co-incides with that when it was most bitterly attacked.

From the outset the Glasite movement was subject to all the dangers which beset what has been described as "particularism,"⁽¹⁾ by which is meant the tendency of new religious movements to make the emphasis of particular aspects of truth or details of practice the supreme consideration in their life and work. Such movements generally originate in the conviction that important matters of faith and order have been neglected, and their avowed purpose is to restore what is lacking in contemporary religion. The founders and disciples of a new sect, says Dr. H.W.Clark,⁽²⁾ "are far readier than others to swoop down upon 'minutiae' which appeared to them to have suffered from neglect, and to insert into their general religious scheme further 'minutiae' which they themselves had hit upon and which they proceeded to exalt with all a discoverer's pride; nor is it strange that the recovered or discovered 'minutiae' should grow more self-evidently valuable in their apostles' eyes as time and advocacy went on. In fact the intenser the desire felt by them for religious restoration, so much the warmer would their insistence on the supposedly restorative 'minutiae' become.... Religious bodies based upon particularism are compelled, in practice and in the long run, to

(1) H.W.Clark, "History of English Nonconformity", II, 343.

(2) Ibid., 272-273, 343.

define themselves by the points which differentiate them from others, rather than by large principles that are deep-rooted and reach far back into the natural background of things". The Glasite movement was markedly "particularist". It claimed the re-discovery of truth and the restoration of neglected but essential practices. It stood over against other religious denominations as the one body which offered a pure and complete reproduction of Primitive Christianity. Particularism tends to become narrow and dogmatic, hyper-critical and intolerant, exclusive and self-righteous, and even to glory in isolation. All this is true of the Glasite movement. Though it seemed to be its strength, it proved to be its weakness.

Among the more specific reasons for the decline of the Glasite body may be mentioned : 1. a distorted theology resulting from a defective psychology of faith; 2. an excessive literalism in the interpretation of Scriptural statements and injunctions; 3. Severity of discipline, issuing in disputation and division; 4. lack of missionary enterprise, arising out of a policy of isolation.

1. The Glasite doctrine of faith, intended to exalt the truth of Sovereign Grace, led to an over-emphasis of faith as "simple belief" of the testimony of the Gospel. Glas and Sandeman made faith primarily the intellectual apprehension of objective revelation. In so doing they failed to see that faith has affective and volitional aspects as well as cognitive- that faith is the response of the whole man as a thinking, feeling, and willing personality. In the Glasite theology no distinction is made

between faith and belief. They are regarded as identical terms which may be used interchangeably. Moreover, Biblical Theology, as we understand it, finds no recognition in the Glasite interpretation of Scripture. There is little or no appreciation of the different shades of meaning attached to the word "faith" by the various New Testament writers. "Faith" on the lips of Jesus, or in the utterances and letters of the Apostles, whether Paul, James, Peter, John, or the author of "Hebrews", is regarded as meaning "simple belief". But the conception of faith is not as simple as Glas and Sandeman would make it appear. The terms "faith" and "believe" do not always bear the same connotation. In the Synoptic Gospels, "Faith" and 'to believe'.. means a spirit of simple receptiveness towards the Messiah and His message, a state of mind which, unlike the righteousness of the Pharisees, requires no previous course of discipline in meritorious actions. 'Faith' is the primary action of the human spirit when brought into contact with Divine truth and goodness⁽¹⁾; in Paul's usage the emphasis is on the idea of moral trust, the response of mind and heart to the revelation of God in Christ, the committal of the 'self' to Christ; in the "Epistle to the Hebrews" "Faith" is psychologically conceived as a state of mind- "the assurance (confidence) of things hoped for, the proving (conviction) of things not seen", i.e. a state of mind inspired by hope, and resting confidently in the reality of the unseen and eternal order; in the Johannine writings "to believe" means surrender and devotion to Jesus Christ as the Son of God; in the "Epistle of James", "Faith" is belief which issues in good works.

(1) W.R.Inge, "Faith and Its Psychology", 10.

Despite these different shades of meaning, there is in all a moral content which makes faith more than mere intellectual credence, viz., the response of the whole personality to the Divine revelation in the Gospel.

It may be readily admitted that "faith", in the common sense of the term, is "belief" or intellectual assent to something presented to the mind, but "saving faith" in the New Testament means something far greater and richer. Belief in itself possesses no moral power. That which is accepted as true by the mind must also receive the approbation of the will and the loving trust of the heart. It is not belief in a series of propositions or a system of theology, but faith in a Person, or the response of the sinner to the grace of God in Jesus Christ. "Faith", says Bishop Chase, "is the faculty implanted in every man made in the image of God, the ally of the reason, the will, the affections, which swiftly discerns and swiftly weighs evidence as to the things of the unseen and eternal order, appealing partly to the intellect and partly to the spirit. The divine gift of reason is educated by the divine gift of faith; and faith is educated by reason... Reason reviews, harmonises, gives expression to the discoveries of faith. The will translates them into the activities of a holy life. The heart loves and rejoices in the God and Father of Whom faith witnesses"⁽²⁾.

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- (1) A philosophical writer like F.C.S. Schiller declares that while the psychological nature of Belief is fundamental, the subject of Belief "is anything but simple". He makes Belief more than intellectual assent, and defines it as "a spiritual attitude of welcome which we assume towards what we take to be a 'truth'. As such an attitude, it is plainly an affair of our whole nature, and not of mere 'intellect'". "Problems of Belief", 11, 14.
- (2) F.H. Chase, in Address to the Church Congress (1906), quoted by Inge, "Faith and Its Psychology", 241.

Even Glas was obliged to affirm that mere belief, such as the faith of devils, possesses no saving quality- that belief of the truth is "of a different nature from their belief", as is shown by its fruits, though he will not allow that "there must be more in faith, than the belief of the truth of the gospel"⁽¹⁾. But defective as his conception of faith is, Glas rendered a service in protesting against the identification of faith with emotion. Feeling alone has no more value than has mere credence. A living faith must begin in the belief of the testimony of the Gospel which, when sincerely believed, produces effects upon the whole moral and spiritual life. Christian truth is not arrived at by the metaphysical speculations of the human mind; it is something given, not something produced; in short, it is the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, and as such must be humbly and gratefully accepted by the mind, will, and heart of man.

Glas's doctrine of faith, expounded and amplified by Sandeman, won the adherence of numerous disciples, but it made no general appeal as did his teaching on the spiritual nature of Christ's Kingdom. Many, who followed him in other respects, felt the one-sidedness of his view of faith, and were constrained to supplement it by adding the element of trust- trust of the heart.

Further, Glas's doctrine of Assurance, arising from his conception of faith, failed to convince the minds or satisfy the hearts of those who desired the consciousness of acceptance with God through Christ's Atoning Work. The assurance Glas offered was not a certainty but a mere possibility or probability. Even

(1) Supra 106.

within Glasite circles the commonly-accepted view of Assurance met with critics. Toward the end of the Eighteenth Century the Glasite churches were rent asunder over this question. "This controversy was begun in 1798, by a public character amongst them affirming, that by the work of faith, and labour of love, they came to know that they were of the truth; that by receiving a foretaste of the heavenly life, they obtained the assured hope of being accepted of him; that this was the highest possible enjoyment of Christ's people in this life, and in them the highest possible evidence that Jesus was the Son of God"⁽¹⁾. To the orthodox Glasites this view appeared to leave room for subjective grounds of assurance, providing hopes of final perseverance for which there was no clear warrant in Scripture. The other party considered that the Scriptures encouraged believers to desire and expect the witness and consolations of the Spirit, but even they drew a distinction between an assured confidence in the truth itself and an assurance that "we are believers", holding it to be presumption for any individual to claim that Christ died for him in particular.

The Glasite view of Assurance rests upon an inadequate doctrine of the functions and witness of the Holy Spirit. While far from denying the influence of the Spirit, they made little of that influence in the experience of believers. They were so obsessed by the truth of the Divine Sovereignty that they could not see that the transcendent God is also immanent in those who truly believe, that the gift of the Holy Spirit brings with it a witness or inward testimony which affords assurance of acceptance with God

(1) "A New Theological Dictionary" (1807), 790.

and produces joy and peace in believing. "The abstract nature of faith", it has been said, "was the apple of discord which separated them (the Glasites) from those with whom they agreed⁽¹⁾ in the grand outlines of doctrine and discipline". In making faith the intellectual apprehension of objective truth, and in decrying feeling in religious experience, they robbed themselves of the consciousness of personal assurance.

2. The Glasites stood for an excessive literalism in the interpretation of Scripture which led them to exalt the letter above the spirit and to introduce a new form of legalism. The New Testament became a new code of laws and regulations, departure from which was looked upon as a setting aside of the Divine commandments. No practice was held permissible unless it rested upon some explicit injunction of Christ or His apostles, or some precedent exemplified in the primitive churches. Doctrine and conduct, organisation and order were permanently fixed. No room was left for development or modification in view of changing times or conditions. Nothing might be added to or taken from what was written in the inspired Word of God. Hence the Glasites sought to reproduce in exact detail the church order and customs of the New Testament churches. Conformity to Scriptural precedent meant uniformity in practice. So tenaciously have the Glasites observed this rule that, during the whole course of their history, they have scarcely deviated from the standpoint and customs which characterised them at their first formation.

(1) Bogue and Bennett, "History of Dissenters", IV, 109.

In his strictures on the Glasite or Sandemanian system Andrew Fuller shows how punctilious adherence to the letter of Scripture may lead to neglect of the weightier matters which Christ enjoined. "A great many errors have arisen from applying to moral obligations the principle which is proper in obedience to positive institutions. By confounding these and giving to both the name of ordinances, the New Testament becomes little more than ritual, and religion is nearly reduced to a round of mechanical performances... To require express precedent or example, or to adhere in all cases to the literal sense of those precepts which are given us, in things of a moral nature, would greatly mislead us. We may, by a disregard of that for which there is no express precept or precedent, omit what is manifestly right, and by an adherence to the letter of scripture precepts overlook the spirit of them and do what is manifestly wrong... Much has been spoken and written on 'observing all things which Christ hath commanded us', and on the authority of apostolic example. Both are literally binding on Christians in matters of positive institution, and in things moral the spirit or design of them is indispensable: but to enforce a literal conformity in many cases would be to defeat the end, and reduce obedience to unnecessary ceremony⁽¹⁾". The Glasites were so anxious to reproduce the apostolic practices and methods that they forgot the apostolic warning "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life". However praiseworthy a course of action might appear to others, if it were not definitely enjoined or exemplified in the New Testament, the Glasites felt themselves

(1) Fuller's "Works", II, 420-421, 422, 425.

under no obligation to follow it. On the other hand, they restored practices which had a temporary or local significance- such as foot-washing, the kiss of charity, love-feasts- representing them as permanently obligatory to all Christians of every age and place, solely because Christ or His apostles had observed them. By their rigid conformity to express precept and precedent the Glasites fell into the error of Judaistic legalism which Jesus Himself condemned. Jesus and His apostles laid down no hard and fast rules intended to regulate every detail of personal conduct or church order, but rather they enunciated great spiritual principles which were to find expression according to peculiar conditions and needs. To reduce Christian life and fellowship to a system is to produce a mechanical uniformity which destroys the
(1)
soul of religion.

3. The Glasite discipline was so strict and severe that many revolted against it and were either excommunicated or else voluntarily withdrew from the fellowship. Small as were the churches, they suffered constant depletion in their numbers. Some were "put away" on moral grounds, but in many instances excommunications took place on account of differences of opinion respecting some point of doctrine or practice. It is a remarkable

(1) "A Glassite church is a machine; all the wheels, and pins, and movements of which are as nicely adjusted as the posts and pegs of the tabernacle; and considered to be as clearly specified in scripture as the atonement... This system... preserves something of the external form of primitive christianity. But it is such a resemblance as a skeleton bears to a human being. It wants the flesh, the loveliness, and the animating principle". "The London Christian Instructor", II, 146, 147.

fact that a considerable number of the leading elders suffered either temporary or permanent excommunication. No toleration was allowed to divergencies of sentiment within the fellowship. If any member were bold enough to express views contrary to those commonly acknowledged as the beliefs and practices of the churches he was obliged either to recant or sever his connection. In all decisions unanimity was essential, but if this could not be secured by persuasion, recourse was had to the expulsion of the dissentients. Little wonder that many were afraid to express their opinions, or that others were prepared to endure excommunication or to withdraw from the fellowship rather than deny their convictions. Like most particularist denominations the Glasite body was characterised by controversy and division. Some of the best men associated with the movement- M'Lean, Carmichael, James Allen, Ebenezer Russell White- were forced into separation. The Glasites prided themselves on the strictness of their discipline, but their severity deterred more liberal-minded men from attaching themselves to such a stern and authoritarian fellowship, and drove out those whose support and influence might have helped to make the movement a religious force. Men who cherished liberty of thought and action could find no permanent home in the Glasite communion. As new bodies arose, with a broader platform, they absorbed many who held some of the Glasite principles but could not conform to its rigid system of doctrine, order, and discipline.

4. Lastly, we may mention as one of the chief causes of failure and decline the lack of missionary interest and enterprise.

In the early days of the Glasite movement it did seem as if it might develop along evangelistic lines, but the increasing emphasis which came to be placed on matters of church order tended to produce a self-contained and exclusive spirit which resulted in a policy of religious isolation. Regarding all other bodies as corrupt, the Glasites refused to hold any fellowship with them or to co-operate in the promotion of work conducted by Bible or Missionary Societies. For any member to associate with outside institutions would mean immediate excommunication.

The Glasite churches have ever been exclusive coteries of believers intent on the enjoyment of common fellowship and the exercise of the religious life, though their liberality has not been confined to persons belonging to their own communion. But they have shown no zeal for the conversion of sinners at home or the heathen abroad. They deny any obligation to carry the Gospel to non-Christian lands, holding (strange to say) that the New Testament does not countenance missionary enterprise. "There is no authority in Scripture for the modern missionary system". Christ's commission (Matthew xxviii.16-20) was "given to the apostles only, as ambassadors of Christ met by special appointment, and is not enjoined by them on the Churches, no one being appointed to such work; while the duties of elders and deacons are strictly limited to their churches. The apostles, however, are still with the churches in their writings, and Christ's presence in regard to them is sure, so that none of His people shall be lost⁽¹⁾".

(1) "The Customs of the Churches of Christ" (G. Waterston & Sons, Edinburgh, 1908), 19.

Similarly the Glasites have refrained from proselytism or evangelistic activities at home. It is true that in the early days Sandeman went to England and America and Barnard to Wales, but only on invitation. They did not themselves initiate evangelistic campaigns. When invited to explain their principles they are prepared to respond, but "We are utterly against aiming to promote the cause we contend for, either by creeping into private houses, or by causing our voice to be heard in the streets or in the fields, or by officiously obtruding our opinions upon others in conversation". If inquirers wish to know more of the order and fellowship of the Churches they are quite free to attend the open meetings of the church where the Word of God is regularly expounded. But no efforts will be made to induce any one to connect himself with the fellowship. If he desires to make the profession of faith he may do so, the church deciding whether or not he be received into fellowship.

The Glasites have been charged with a callous unconcern for the salvation of sinners. Fuller remarks, "Toward worldly men indeed, who make no pretence to religion, the system seems to

(1) "We have been taught that the early members went to other places by request to explain the doctrine more fully to those who had heard of it, and not as travelling preachers trying to set up congregations".- Private letter.

(2) "An Account of the Christian Practices", 16-17.

(3) Writing to Sir William Sinclair, Bart., in Jan. 1764, Robert Sandeman says, "As to your chusing to attend on our public doctrine for some weeks and then chusing to withdraw, we have no charge to bring against you, and consequently no title to enquire after your reasons. You are welcome to attend while you are inclined, & welcome to withdraw when that inclination ceased, as we pretend no right whatever to call you to account for your conduct". (Autograph Letter). Sir William Sinclair was at this time on a protracted visit to Edinburgh. Though a Baptist by conviction he attended the Glasite meeting.

bear a friendly aspect: but it discovers no concern for their salvation. It would seem to have no tears to shed over a perishing world: and even looks with a jealous eye on those that have,,
glorying in the paucity of its numbers!⁽¹⁾ But this apparent unconcern arises from the belief that God knows His own elect, and that the sinner can do nothing but wait until God reveals His Son in him. The Glasites consider it a Jewish notion to expect any extensive influence of the Gospel throughout the world. They are convinced that Christ will not suffer one of His flock to perish, and are in no way perturbed by their diminishing numbers. They anticipate the Millennial reign of Christ upon the earth, and are content to await His Advent for the vindication of the elect few who have preserved their faith in perilous and apostate times. Consequently the Glasites have suffered from the effects of that spiritual atrophy which attacks all societies which show no interest in the diffusion of the Gospel, and the day seems not far distant when the Glasite churches will have completely disappeared.

Had John Glas been content to place the supreme emphasis upon the great spiritual principles with which he commenced his career, he might have become one of the outstanding figures of the Eighteenth Century, a leader of religious revival not unlike Wesley, and the founder of a powerful and growing denomination. But he was ensnared by the pitfalls which beset religious particularism, repelling many who otherwise would have followed him in a great spiritual adventure of faith and service. What Dr. Struthers calls his "metaphysics" made no widespread appeal- "They might be clear, but they were cold as ice"⁽²⁾. In Scotland it was reserved

(1) Fuller's "Works", II, 444-445.

(2) Struthers, "History of the Relief Church", 178.

for the Secession and Relief Fathers, and later the Haldanes, to become the real leaders of revival. Glas rejoiced that he was delivered from any connection with the English Independents, but it is an interesting speculation what might have happened had such contact been established in the third decade of the Eighteenth Century. It is possible that new life would have been infused into Independency, while Independency would have obtained a stronger foothold in North Britain. The whole course of Scottish religious history might have been modified, Scottish Dissent assuming a predominantly Independent form. Glas's particularism lost him his opportunity of becoming a great leader. Hill Burton describes him as "a man of peculiar and remarkable abilities, but they had not that conformity with the tone and tendency of the popular mind which is necessary in the founder of a great sect, or the leader of a large religious body"⁽¹⁾ But Glas did not live and testify in vain. He recalled attention to the fundamental principles of New Testament Christianity. The Independency for which he contended is continued in the life and testimony of large and influential Communion in Great Britain and America; while the great truths on which he so strongly insisted- the spiritual nature of Christ's Kingdom, the Supreme Headship of Christ in His Church, the primary authority of the New Testament as the criterion of faith and order- are now generally acknowledged by Christians of all Churches.

(1) J.Hill Burton, "History of Scotland" (1689-1748), II, 345-346.

APPENDIX :

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GLASITE MOVEMENT ON OTHER BODIES

APPENDIX

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GLASITE MOVEMENT ON OTHER BODIES

SECTION 1 : THE "SCOTCH" BAPTISTS

The "Scotch" Baptists owe their origin to the testimony and influence of Archibald M'Lean and Robert Carmichael, both of whom had a previous though brief connection with the Glasites. Of Highland descent, M'Lean was a printer by trade. His early religious associations were with the Church of Scotland of which he became a devoted member. By reading Glas's "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs" he was led to doubt the propriety of National Churches, and felt attracted to the Glasite position. In 1761 he addressed a number of inquiries to Robert Sandeman who replied very fully, concluding with the hope that M'Lean would be ready to follow "what you have already some conviction of".⁽¹⁾ Towards the end of 1761 M'Lean, now in his thirtieth year,^(born 1733) decided to join the Glasite society in Glasgow where his business was situated. His connection with the Glasites, however, lasted little more than a year, for disapproving of the action of the church in a case of discipline he resigned his membership.⁽²⁾ M'Lean considered that a great injustice had been done to a certain individual who was sacrificed out of deference to an influential party in the church. When he expressed his disagreement with the decision Glas, who had been called in to preside over the meeting, asked him to think the matter over and let him know his mind.

(1) Sandeman's letter, dated Sep. 26th 1761, was first printed in "The Millennial Harbinger", I (1835), 272-274.

(2) "Memoir of M'Lean", note on p. xx. Wilson ("Dissenting Churches", III, 325) mistakenly ascribes M'Lean's separation as due to his changed views on Baptism. It was after his withdrawal, not before, that M'Lean adopted Baptist views.

This M'Lean did, but as Glas ignored the letter, he felt that he had no option but to withdraw. At the same time, and on like

grounds, Robert Carmichael, formerly Anti-burgher minister at
(1)
Coupar-Angus, also severed his connection with the Glasites.

Not long afterwards Carmichael asked M'Lean's opinion on the subject of Baptism. Hitherto M'Lean had not given special study to the question, but he promised to do so. After a long and painstaking examination of the New Testament he reached the conclusion

that there was no Scriptural warrant for Infant Baptism. He communicated his findings to Carmichael in a long letter dated July
(2)

2nd 1764. The latter was not immediately convinced, for shortly afterwards he baptised the child of his colleague in the pastorate

of an independent church in Edinburgh with which he had meantime become connected. But he continued to be exercised in mind, and

about a year later he wrote to M'Lean stating that he had reached
(3)
similar conclusions respecting Baptism. When he intimated his

change of view to his church a few expressed agreement with him, but the majority disapproved. Consequently Carmichael, with his
(4)

sympathisers, withdrew in May 1765. As the brethren knew of no
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Baptists in Scotland to whom they might turn for guidance, it was decided to communicate with Dr. John Gill, a distinguished Baptist

(1) Supra, 77-78.

(2) The letter appears in "The New Baptist Mag.", I (1825), 41-45.

(3) "Memoir of M'Lean", xxi-xxii.

(4) The most influential of these seceders was Robert Walker, a surgeon, through whose instrumentality the little company obtained the use of the ancient Magdalene Chapel in the Cowgate where the first General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland met on Dec. 20th 1560. Dr. Walker was one of the pastors of the first Baptist Church from 1769 to 1777 when he separated on account of doctrinal disagreement.

(5) Unknown to the friends, Sir William Sinclair of Keiss was in Edinburgh at this time. Supra 247. Cf. "History of the Baptists in Scotland", 45.

divine in London, requesting him to come to Scotland to baptise the group under Carmichael. Dr.Gill did not find it convenient to leave his charge, but after a second appeal he suggested that Carmichael himself should visit London. The suggestion was approved, ⁽¹⁾ and Carmichael was publicly baptised by Dr.Gill at the Barbican Meeting-house on October 9th 1765. On his return to Edinburgh, Carmichael baptised his friends in the Water of Leith ⁽²⁾ at Canonmills. A few weeks later Archibald M'Lean came over from Glasgow to be baptised by Carmichael. The first Baptist church ⁽³⁾ in Edinburgh was constituted in November 1765, with Robert Carmichael as pastor. In 1768 M'Lean, who meantime had removed to Edinburgh, was chosen as co-pastor. ⁽⁴⁾ The following year Robert Carmichael removed to Dundee. M'Lean was now the acknowledged leader of the "Scotch" Baptists. Though not possessing an academic education, M'Lean was a man of keen intellect and wide reading, a profound theologian and a careful exegete. ⁽⁵⁾ To his powerful advocacy the Baptist connection in Scotland was indebted for its growth. Within a few years churches were established in various parts of Britain and also in America. The membership of these

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- (1) Vide Carmichael's letter to M'Lean, "Memoir", cix-cx.
 - (2) "The Scots Magazine", XXVII (1765), 614.
 - (3) This church came to be regarded as the Mother Church of the "Scotch" Baptist denomination.
 - (4) After Carmichael's departure in 1769, Dr.Robert Walker was associated with Mr.M'Lean in the pastorate. Unfortunately, after a few years, the church was rent by a dispute over the doctrine of Christ's Sonship. Dr.Walker and his supporters retained the use of the Magdalene Chapel, so that M'Lean was obliged to provide a meeting-place for his friends in his own house. "Hist. Baptists in Scotland", 47-48. Cf. "Memoir", xxx, lvi-lvii; "The Baptist Mag.", X (1818), 256-257, 337-338, 415.
 - (5) M'Lean's theological writings, edited by William Jones, fill six large volumes.

societies was largely recruited from other denominations- Inde-
pendent, Presbyterian, and Glasite.⁽¹⁾ From Scotland the movement spread to England where a number of churches were formed, particularly in the Northern counties, while in Wales the influence of John Richard Jones, a popular Baptist preacher who about 1795 adopted the views of M'Lean, produced division among the Welsh Baptists and resulted in the formation of churches after the
⁽²⁾
"Scotch" model.

There has been much disputation respecting the relation of the "Scotch" Baptists to the Glasites or Sandemanians. Frequently they have been described as "Sandemanian Baptists" or "Baptist Sandemanians", whose principles and practices are scarcely distinguishable from those of the followers of Glas and Sandeman except in the matter of Baptism. On the other hand, the "Scotch" Baptists themselves have strongly repudiated the names Glasite and Sandemanian, though they have expressed admiration of much contained in the writings of John Glas and Robert Sandeman. Friends of M'Lean, like William Jones, John Richard Jones, and others, have stoutly maintained that neither he nor his followers may legitimately be classed as Glasites or Sandemanians. William Jones declares, "Though many people in England, some through ignorance, and others from much worse motives, have identified him

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- (1) Important recruits were Henry David Inglis (grandson of the famous Colonel Gardiner); Wm. Braidwood, pastor of an Independent church in Edinburgh; Dr. Charles Stuart, Parish Minister of Cramond; George Grieve, Presbyterian minister at Wooler. Inglis and Braidwood became joint-pastors with M'Lean at Edinburgh. Several Scotch Baptist congregations were formed in places where there existed Glasite societies: Glasgow, Dundee, Montrose, Perth, Galashiels, Wooler, Whitehaven, Danbury (U.S.A.).
- (2) Vide W.T. Whitley, "The Baptists of North West England", 163-167; T. Witton Davies, "The McLeanist (Scotch) and Campbellite Baptists of Wales" in "The Christian Advocate", II (1922), and "Transactions Baptist Hist. Soc.", VII (1921).

(M'Lean) with the Sandemanians, it is very certain that he differed from them in so many and such important particulars, that between his principles and theirs, there was very little congeniality; certainly no such similarity as should warrant the imputation of his belonging to that denomination. He was intimately acquainted with the writings of Mr. Glas and Mr. Sandeman, and personally knew them both; but to say nothing of their sentiments, which he has often opposed in his writings, his spirit and theirs, as they are found to breathe in each of their publications and to animate their respective systems, are so opposite that nothing but malice, or the most egregious stupidity of intellect, can account for the conduct of any one in confounding them, who has attentively read their works⁽¹⁾. In his "Memoir" of M'Lean, Jones has one section headed "The Scotch Baptists not Sandemanians"⁽²⁾. He considers that the confusion is largely due to what he calls "the extremely unfair and disingenuous conduct of the late Mr. Andrew Fuller of Kettering", who at one period of his ministry had been engaged in keen controversy with M'Lean, and who later (1810) had published his severe "Strictures on Sandemanianism" in which, Jones says, he "takes special care to identify Mr. M'Lean with that system, and to make him amenable for his due proportion of the evil which, in his prejudiced judgment, attaches to it"⁽³⁾.

Jones cites as evidence that the "Scotch" Baptists were not Sandemanians passages from a manuscript left by M'Lean at his death in which the latter severely criticises Sandemanianism.

(1) "The New Evangelical Magazine", I (1815), 295.

(2) "Memoir", xxxiii-li, Section IV. (3) Ibid., xxxiv.

But an examination of M'Lean's strictures shows that they refer solely to the spirit of Sandemanianism and the social deportment of its representatives. M'Lean takes exception to "the spirit and manner in which the Glasites, or Sandemanians, oppose what they call Pharisaism"⁽¹⁾ which "leads them to form the most rash and uncharitable judgment of others, especially of the stricter sort",⁽²⁾ and "frequently to slide into the opposite extreme of laxness, and conformity to this present world in many respects"⁽³⁾. Family prayer is not generally practised by them, and their observance of the Sabbath not very strict. Their conversation is often marked by levity and idle jesting; they countenance theatre-going, merry-making, dancing, and other worldly diversions. So far from condemning extravagance in dress they "affirm with great confidence that there is no religion in dress"⁽⁴⁾. Thus they minister to the pride of life. Further, they are marked by a narrow exclusiveness which makes them consider everybody wrong but themselves. "Take their word for it, and they are the only true churches of Christ upon earth"⁽⁵⁾. They make laws other than those laid down in Scripture, such as Infant Baptism, the "second absolution", their doctrine of "the husband of one wife", the imposition of hands upon new members, while they neglect and dispense with clear injunctions such as the Baptism of believers only, the avoidance of rash judgments, foolish jesting, respect of persons, immoderate dress,⁽⁶⁾ etc.

It is noticeable that apart from his reference to Baptism and one or two peculiarities of practice, M'Lean has nothing to

(1) "Memoir", xxxiv. (2) Ibid., xxxvi. (3) Ibid., xxxvii.
 (4) Ibid., xlii. (5) Ibid., xliv. (6) Ibid., xlv.

say against the doctrinal teaching and ecclesiastical order of the Sandemanians. This is very significant, suggesting that in the important matters of faith and order there was little to which he could object- indeed, that in these things he was at one with the Sandemanians. This is implicit in the words which follow his strictures upon their attitude and conduct: "Notwithstanding all I have advanced against that people, I can assure you, if I know anything of my own heart, that I do not bear them the least ill-will. On the contrary they still possess much of my esteem, as having been the first in this country who have been honoured to contend for our Lord's good confession concerning his kingdom, and to exhibit the primitive order, discipline, and (excepting baptism) ordinances of his house, at least in their writings, to which I acknowledge myself indebted in several things"⁽¹⁾.

It has been affirmed that "after he severed his relations with the Sandemanian church at Glasgow, Archibald M'Lean was no more a Sandemanian than Adoniram Judson continued to be a Congregationalist after he was baptised at Calcutta"⁽²⁾. It may be readily granted that as far as ecclesiastical connection was concerned M'Lean was no longer a Glasite. After his separation the Glasites were no more ready to acknowledge him as one of themselves than he wished to be counted as such. The important question is not whether M'Lean was in communion with the Glasites, but whether after his withdrawal he retained the

(1) "Memoir", 1.

(2) H.C.Vedder in "The Baptist Qrly. Rev." (American) Jly. 1888. Though Judson ceased to be a Congregationalist he did not cease to be a congregationalist. The Baptists were also congregationalists. The difference related only to Baptism.

leading sentiments and practices peculiar to the Glasites.

When we come to consider matters of faith and order we find that the "Scotch" Baptists approximate very closely to the Glasites. This is not surprising when we remember that the pioneers of the movement, M'Lean and Carmichael, were so profoundly impressed by Glas's teaching that they withdrew from their respective Presbyterian connections to join the Glasites who seemed to fulfil more truly the New Testament character of a Christian fellowship. Though they remained but a short time in the Glasite communion they were so deeply imbued with the doctrinal and ecclesiastical sentiments of that body that when they formed Baptist congregations they modelled them according to the Glasite pattern. Had it not been for the earlier Glasite influence it is highly probable that, after their adoption of Baptist views, M'Lean and Carmichael would have been brought into closer relations with the Baptist churches in the South and that the new churches in Scotland would have resembled those in England both in doctrine and order. That the Scottish churches came to be differentiated from those in England by peculiar characteristics is to be attributed to the persistence of the Glasite influence and to the fact that many of the members were drawn from the Glasite societies. The words of Professor Witton Davies are not too strong: "It may be safely said that without Glasism (the name in Scotland) or Sandemanianism (mostly used outside of Scotland), McLeanism would have been impossible⁽¹⁾".

In common with the Glasites the "Scotch" Baptists declined to accept any creed drawn up by human authority as a standard of

(1) "The Christian Advocate" (1922), 13.

faith. They believed that the New Testament was the only authoritative rule of faith and order. They considered that, judged by this rule, the vast majority of professing Christians had departed from the faith and practice of the first churches. Their aim was to restore primitive Christianity in their own churches. At the same time their theology in its main outlines followed closely the Calvinistic system. They maintained the doctrine of particular redemption and insisted that salvation is first and last of God's free sovereign grace to sinful men.⁽¹⁾

Like the Glasites the Scottish Baptists were primarily concerned with the doctrines of grace- particularly Justification by Faith. Where they differed from orthodox Calvinism was in their view of the nature of saving faith. According to M'Lean they believed "that men are justified freely by divine grace without works of any kind, but solely through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ, whenever they really believe, or credit the testimony of God concerning his Son; which belief is not of themselves but the gift of God"⁽²⁾. Saving faith is the simple belief of the Gospel testimony that Jesus Christ is Redeemer and Saviour. What M'Lean means by "simple faith" may be gathered from the elaborate treatment of the subject in his published works, especially "The Commission given by Jesus Christ to His Apostles Illustrated"⁽³⁾, his discourse "The Belief of the Gospel Saving Faith"⁽⁴⁾, and his "Reply to Mr.Fuller". M'Lean declares that the word faith denotes "that credit which we give to the truth of anything which is made known to us by report or testimony, and is grounded either on the veracity

(1) Vide M'Lean's "A Short Account of the Scotch Baptists" in Dr. Rippon's Baptist Register, Vol.II.; "Memoir", lxxvi-lxxviii; "A Summary of the Doctrines Held by the Original Scots Baptist Churches" appended to Fuller's "Universal Atonement Refuted"(1845).
(2) "Memoir", lxxvi. (3) "Works", Vol.I. (4) Ibid., Vol.IV.

of the speaker, or on the evidence by which his words are confirmed", and the term "pistis", translated "faith" or "belief"⁽¹⁾ in the New Testament, bears the meaning commonly understood. The design of all testimony is to produce a belief of the truth testified. "It is evident that faith is neither more nor less than belief, and that saving faith is a belief of the gospel, or of God's testimony concerning his Son"⁽²⁾. Such faith is the special gift of God and is peculiar to the elect. As its reality cannot be discerned by the mere confession of the mouth, it must be sought in its effects upon the heart and life. When the Gospel is truly perceived and believed "it takes possession of the will and the affections, and becomes in the soul the ground of its hope, trust, and reliance; the object of its desire, acceptance, esteem, and joy; and the principle of every holy, active, and gracious disposition of heart"⁽³⁾. M'Lean, insists, however, that these effects of faith must not be confused with faith itself- that unless a distinction is made between faith and what it produces the doctrine of free grace is impaired, that to include in justifying faith such good dispositions, holy affections, and pious exercises as the moral law requires, and to regard them as necessary to a sinner's acceptance with God, is to reduce justification to a matter of works instead of grace alone.⁽⁴⁾

M'Lean's conception of saving faith is essentially the same as that taught by Glas and Sandeman, and there can be little doubt that M'Lean was indebted to them for the doctrinal emphasis on faith as "simple belief". He himself was reluctant to admit

(1) "Works", I, 77. (2) Ibid., I, 81.
 (3) Ibid., I, 82. Cf. ibid., IV, 7. (4) Ibid., I, 84.

that his doctrine of faith was Sandemanian. He strongly resented Fuller's identification of his position with that of Sandeman. But the fact remains, that it is difficult to see any real difference between the views of M'Lean and Sandeman. M'Lean makes a clear-cut distinction between faith and its effects; he regards belief as the essence of faith and the antecedent of all holy dispositions; he holds that repentance must follow faith, not precede it, that repentance does not produce faith but is produced by the belief of the testimony. Thus there can be no change of heart until the mind has perceived and believed the truth of the Gospel.⁽¹⁾ Dr. Witton Davies says, "If there is a distinction between Sandeman's view of faith ('bare belief') and M'Lean's ('simple belief'), it is purely a psychological, not a doctrinal one".⁽²⁾

In respect of church order, worship, and discipline, the Scots Baptists also approximated to the Glasites. Their churches were strictly independent, with a plurality of elders in each congregation. M'Lean declared, "We do not think that a congregation is complete in its order without a plurality of elders or bishops".⁽³⁾ The elders were chosen from among the brethren, and the qualifications required were personal piety and ability to teach. Though not despising scholarship and academic training the Scots Baptists did not consider them essential to the exercise of the elder's office. Most of their pastors followed secular callings, but all were solemnly set apart by prayer and the imposition of hands by the presbytery. They disapproved of professionalism in

(1) This point was keenly debated by M'Lean and Fuller.

(2) "The Christian Advocate" (1922), 45.

(3) One of the fullest and clearest statements of the church order of the Scots Baptists is contained in a friendly letter addressed by M'Lean to Fuller in April 1796. Vide "The New Evang. Magazine" II (1816), 76-80.

the ministry, but regarded the eldership as a divine institution to which was committed complete spiritual oversight. In the early days the presence of a pastor was deemed essential at the observance of the Lord's Supper, and the tendency to depart from this rule, which grew up in some of the churches, caused great distress to M'Lean who stood by the old Glasite practice in this respect. In their worship the Scots Baptists endeavoured to follow the example given in Acts 11.42. Each Lord's Day the brethren assembled for fellowship in prayer, praise, reading and exposition of Scripture, mutual exhortation, the observance of the Lord's Supper, and the weekly collection for the poor. They were strict communionists, admitting none to the Lord's Table who did not agree with them in doctrine and practice. While not regarding the "kiss of charity" and "foot-washing" as "religious institutes" forming part of common worship they observed them on suitable occasions as in harmony with the example of Christ and His Apostles. Love-feasts were also held as tending "to cultivate love, unity, and intimacy among brethren"⁽¹⁾. They abstained from "eating blood and things strangled", regarding "the prohibition of blood-eating to be binding upon all Christians"⁽²⁾. Discipline was exercised in accordance with Christ's injunctions (Matt. xviii.15 ff.). In all cases of discipline the suffrage of the brethren was required before a decision could be pronounced. Obedience to civil rulers as "the powers ordained of God"⁽³⁾ was strictly enjoined.

In certain particulars the Scots Baptists differed from

(1) "The New Evang. Mag.", II, 79.

(2) Ibid., 79.

(3) "Memoir", lxxviii.

the Glasites, the most important relating to Baptism. The Scots Baptists considered the practice of Infant Baptism as a serious departure from New Testament teaching and order. M'Lean himself published an answer to Glas's treatise on Infant Baptism. He charges Glas with inconsistency with his professed principle of strict adherence to the letter of Scripture, and with maintaining a practice by arguments subversive of the doctrine which had led to the original separation of the Glasites from the National
(1)
Church.

(2)
As already noticed, the Scots Baptists were much stricter than the Glasites in relation to social customs and amusements. They considered that the Glasites allowed too much compromise with the spirit of the world. They insisted upon sobriety of demeanour and dress, and looked upon theatre-going, play-acting, dancing, and love of personal adornment as incompatible with the Christian profession. Another important difference was their great interest in missionary enterprise which was non-existent among the Glasites.

In Wales the "Scotch" Baptist movement had as its prin-
(3)
cipal advocate John Richard Jones. Brought up among the Congregationalists, Jones later embraced Baptist views. In 1789 he became pastor of the Particular Baptist Church at Ramoth, near Portmadoc. A man of striking personality and remarkable eloquence,

(1) M'Lean's letters to Glas were written as early as 1766, three years after his separation. In his preface to "A Defence of Believer's Baptism", written eleven years later, M'Lean states the design of the earlier Letters. "Works", III, 227.

(2) Supra, 255.

(3) Vide Memoir of Jones in "The New Evang. Mag.", IX, 281-287; Lewis Edwards in "Y Traethodydd" (1851), 468-475.

Jones soon became one of the most popular preachers in North Wales. In 1795 his views underwent a change as the result of reading the works of M'Lean and other "Scotch" Baptist writers. Dr. Witton
(1)
Davies makes out a good case for believing that even before this date Jones was conversant with the teaching of Glas, Sandeman, and M'Lean, and that his conversion to "Scotch" Baptist views was not as sudden as it would appear from his own recollections. One
(2)
of his closest friends was Dr. William Richards, pastor of the Baptist Church at Kings's Lynn, Norfolk, who was a pronounced disciple of Archibald M'Lean. It is unlikely that Richards had never discussed with Jones the peculiar tenets of the Scots Baptists. Not until 1795, however, did Jones confess his change of
(3)
opinion. According to one authority, the definite change followed an incident which occurred at Wrexham where Jones was preaching. At the close of an address delivered with characteristic fervour, he was asked by one of his hearers if he thought that such a style of preaching was according to the apostolic method. The questioner then handed him a book by M'Lean (probably "The Commission"). The reading of this work unsettled Jones and induced him to enter into correspondence with M'Lean. Jones himself attributes his change of standpoint to the works of M'Lean and
(4)
other Scots Baptist leaders. He says that at first he was greatly prejudiced both against the writings and the authors, but that as he perused the works he became deeply convinced that the views

(1) "The Christian Advocate" (1922), 77, 93.

(2) Vide "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Wm. Richards", by John Evans (London, 1819); "The New Evang. Mag.", IV, 367; V, 377-380; VI, 53-56.

(3) Evan Roberts in "Y Traethodydd" (1889), 357-365.

(4) Jones's Autobiography in "Seren Gomer" (1823), 321-328. Mostly reproduced in "The N. E. Mag.", IX (1823), 282-287. Cf. "The Christian Advocate", IV (1852), 89 ff, 97 ff.

expressed were correct and his own erroneous. The alteration in his convictions was soon reflected in his preaching which lost its former evangelical appeal and was more concerned with doctrine and order. Dr. Lewis Edwards expresses surprise that a gifted man like Jones should come to maintain that the signs of the New Birth and moral character were valueless apart from the strict observance⁽¹⁾ of practices such as the holy kiss, foot-washing, etc. Jones says that his opponents denounced him as a heretic, and that the favourite epithet hurled at him was that of "Sandemanian" which in Wales at that time had much the same import as that of "Samaritan" in the time of Christ. It was, he continues, a term "used to frighten devout people, especially such as appear to be under any concern of mind about the doctrine, church order, and discipline, established by the apostles among the primitive societies of the saints".

Another Welsh Baptist preacher who, for a time, was influenced by similar views was the famous Christmas Evans. In 1796 Evans wrote to M'Lean confessing his conversion to the "Scotch" Baptist position, but this "Sandemanian" phase did not last long. His temperament was too ardent to rest satisfied with the indifference to evangelistic efforts shown by Jones and his supporters. In later life Evans said of this period: "The Sandemanian heresy affected me so far as to quench the spirit of prayer for the conversion of sinners, and it induced in my mind a greater regard for the smaller things of the kingdom of heaven than for the greater"⁽²⁾.

The new notions propounded by Jones and Evans created a great stir in the northern counties of Wales and threatened to

(1) "Y Traethodydd" (1851), 468-475.

(2) Paxton Hood, "Christmas Evans" (1883), 71.

disintegrate the churches of the Particular Baptist and Calvinistic Methodist connections. Witton Davies holds that at first there was no thought of a cleavage in the Welsh Baptist ranks. He cites a letter from M'Lean to Jones, written after separation had taken place, from which it may be inferred that the writer hoped that the North Wales Baptist Association led by Jones and Christmas Evans would collectively avow "Scotch" Baptist principles.⁽¹⁾ This hope was not realised. So divided was Baptist opinion that the annual meetings of the Association were suspended for four years. Ultimately a conference was held at Ramoth in the Spring or early Summer of 1801 to discuss the differences. Meanwhile Evans had re-considered his position, and now defended the orthodox principles. Before a decision could be pronounced J.R. Jones dramatically intervened by declaring in solemn tones: "In the name of the Lord, I separate myself from the Babylonian Welsh Baptists, and from their errors in doctrine and practice, in order to unite myself with my brethren in Scotland who have received the truth".⁽²⁾ Five or six churches also decided to secede, and it seemed as though the movement might spread ruin in the Baptist Association. Its progress was stayed by the efforts of Christmas Evans and Thomas Jones of Glynceirog. In 1802 the latter preached at Llangefni in Anglesey an Association sermon which proved the turning-point in the controversy by promoting a great outburst of religious enthusiasm which effectively stemmed the "Sandemanian" tide.⁽³⁾

The churches of the new order were never numerous. Taking

(1) "The Christian Advocate" (1922), 93.

(2) D.R. Stephens, "Memoir of Christmas Evans" (1847) in Welsh, quoted by Witton Davies, and Rees, "Protestant Nonconformity in Wales",

(3) Paxton Hood, "Christmas Evans", 74-75. (389.)

account of withdrawals and additions, the number has fluctuated between a dozen and a score. Though Jones disliked any nomenclature of a party character, his adherents were known by, and themselves used, a name corresponding to "Scotch" Baptists, viz, "Bedyddwyr Albanaidd". In some respects they went beyond M'Lean and his followers in their conformity to Glasite or Sandemanian practices. They were more rigid in the punctilious observance of the minor details of order, and more exclusive in their attitude to Christians of other connections. Jones discountenanced worshipping with the "Babylonian Baptists", as he termed those of the Particular Baptist Association. Further, they differed from the Scots Baptists in relation to Home and Foreign Missions, declining to take part in any missionary or evangelistic work. They also differed in their views of the Millenium. In course of time the followers of Jones became more or less estranged from their Scottish brethren. Jones himself engaged in a bitter controversy with M'Lean on certain disputed points, until at last M'Lean felt that he must close the correspondence. A few churches still remain as the inheritors of the tradition established by Jones.

Sufficient evidence has been adduced to show that the "Scotch" Baptists were deeply influenced by the teaching, both doctrinal and practical, of their Glasite or Sandemanian predecessors, and that there is some justification for regarding them as Sandemanian Baptists. It is not contended that they were in actual communion with them, or that they followed them in the minutest detail of belief and practice, but the resemblances are obvious to all who have studied their respective systems. Though

M'Lean and others repudiated the names "Glasite" and "Sandemanian", there have not been wanting Scots Baptists who have proudly acknowledged their indebtedness to Glas and Sandeman. A perusal of the five volumes of "The Christian Advocate and Scotch Baptist Repository" (1849-1853) will convince the reader that the teaching of Glas and Sandeman was held in the highest esteem by the members of this persuasion. In the opening number of the first volume the editor declares that he is "not ashamed to acknowledge the Sandemanian descent" of the churches with⁽¹⁾ which he is connected, while in a later volume he says, "In general, then, we remark, that we are firmly persuaded that what is designated the 'Sandemanian' views of the grace of God,- the doctrine of Redemption, the ground of acceptance with God, or of Justification, or, in other words, the Gospel, are substantially⁽²⁾ the same as are taught in the New Testament", and later adds, "We must beg to state, that we have not used the term 'Sandemanian' in its strictest sense, denoting the Glasite churches only; but we have included in that term any who adhere to the generic principles by which those churches are distinguished"⁽³⁾.

The "Scotch" Baptist churches, both in Scotland and in England, have, for the most part, shed many of the original peculiarities, and are now merged in the main stream of the Baptist Communion.⁽⁴⁾ indeed, it is chiefly in Wales that a few churches may still be found adhering closely to the early doctrine and order.

(1) Vol. I, 3. (2) Vol. II, 283. (3) Vol. II, 288.
(4) The Mother Church (Bristol, Edinburgh) holds intercommunion with, and opens its pulpit to those of other Communions. The dual pastorate was discontinued in 1923.

SECTION 2 : THE OLD SCOTS INDEPENDENTS

The body known as the Old Scots Independents formed what has been called the second class of Independents in Scotland to distinguish it from the Glasites who constituted the first class. The original leaders of this new movement were James Smith of Newburn⁽¹⁾ and Robert Ferrier of Largo, ministers of the Church of Scotland, who separated from that Communion on conscientious grounds in 1768. Smith, inducted to his charge in 1735, ministered in Newburn for over thirty years. His earnest piety, sympathetic disposition, and thoughtful preaching endeared him to his parishoners. He had reached a good age before anything occurred to unsettle him in his opinions. Sandeman's "Letters on Theron and Aspasio" which came into his hands made a profound impression upon his mind and caused him to change his views concerning the nature of Christ's Kingdom. Several years elapsed, however, before he reached the conclusion that his changed opinions were incompatible with his position as a minister of the National Church. His change of religious conviction was gradual. One of the first evidences was his adoption of monthly Communion which he dispensed without the assistance of neighbouring ministers, as was customary. His own people seem to have made no demur, and the Presbytery overlooked the innovation. Further indications of departure from orthodox Presbyterianism were furnished by the publication of two booklets from his pen : "A Compendious Account, taken from the Holy Scripture only, of the Form and Order of the Church of God, in the several great Periods thereof. Also of the Nature, Design,

(1) A good account of James Smith is contained in "The London Christian Instructor" (1819), 411. This is based upon private information furnished by Mr. Robert Scott Moncrieff of Edinburgh. Cf. Scot, "Fasti", V, 224-225.

and Right Manner of Observing or Eating the Lord's Supper", etc. (Edinburgh, 1765), and "The Defence of National Covenanting, Non-Toleration and Sword of Steel, for Reformation under the New Testament, by Mr. Flocker, showed to be insufficient; and the Doctrine contained in the Tract, intituled 'A Compendious Account of the Church of God, &c. established" (1767).

(1)
Robert Ferrier has himself described the circumstances (2) which led to his withdrawal from the Church of Scotland. The first was the painful confession of a brother-presbyter on his death-bed that in opposition to conviction and conscience he had remained in connection with a Church which he had ceased to regard as truly representing the mind of Christ. This minister recommended him to read Glas's "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs" which, he said, had been the means of bringing him to a clear understanding of the nature of Christ's Kingdom. Ferrier fulfilled his friend's dying request and was greatly impressed by Glas's treatment of the subject, though previously he had held Mr. Glas, his sentiments, and all connected with him, in great contempt. "The consequence was", he states, "the more I looked into these scriptures, the more I was convinced, that I had never understood the gospel, nor the nature of Christ's kingdom.- I had not a moment's peace of conscience after that till I left the kirk of Scotland". (3) About this time he discovered that Mr. Smith of Newburn shared some of his sentiments. The two ministers discussed their difficulties, the outcome of which was that both became convinced that they could not stay in the National Church. Accord-

(1) Supra, 80-81.

(2) Preface to Glas's "Testimony of K.M." (1777).

(3) Ibid., 17-18.

ingly they resolved to resign their charges and renounce the legal benefices annexed thereto. Their resignations were submitted to the Presbytery of St. Andrews on August 17th 1768⁽¹⁾. The Presbytery was very reluctant to accept the demission and sent a request for a conference in October, until which time the meeting was adjourned. The two brethren, however, left their churches on the following Sunday, and held services in a private meeting-house recently constructed. On October 12th they appeared before the Presbytery and gave reasons for resigning. On a vote a committee was appointed to meet Messrs Smith and Ferrier. This committee reported on November 23rd that the interview had been unsuccessful, as the two brethren could not be persuaded to modify their opinions respecting church government, though they were not so inflexible on other points and were prepared to confer further if the Presbytery so desired. By an overwhelming majority the Presbytery decided that, in view of the attitude adopted by the two brethren and the publication by them of their reasons for leaving the Church, it would be useless to consider the matter further, and forthwith proceeded to accept the demissions and to arrange for the charges to be declared vacant on the following Sunday.

The publication referred to was a pamphlet entitled "The Case of James Smith, late minister at Newburn, and of Robert Ferrier, late minister at Largo, truly represented and defended" (60 pp., Edinburgh, 1768). The writers introduce their apology by stating that on their admission to the ministry of the Church of Scotland they sincerely subscribed the formula required, but that

(1) "The Scots Magazine", XXX (1768), 644.

since then their opinions had changed, obliging them to retract their subscription and resign their charges; that their affection for their people was such that they would willingly have remained in their ministry, could they have done so with a clear conscience; that they were not insensible to the loss of temporal interests, but they believed that to continue in their livings would be base and unworthy. They acknowledged their agreement with much contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith, but were unable to declare that every part, or the whole doctrine thereof was the truth of God. They proceed to enumerate their objections to certain points of church order, discipline, and doctrine maintained in the Confession, but for which they could find no warrant in the Word of God, viz. the Presbyterian form of church government by graded Courts, i.e., "a number of church-officers, either in one church or congregation, or belonging to more or many churches and congregations, constituting themselves into a meeting of jurisdiction, claiming and exercising the power of discipline over that or those congregations, exclusively and independently altogether of the members thereof"; the civil establishment of religion which placed the Church under the authority of the civil magistrate to whom was committed the power of directing and enforcing order and discipline; the statements of the Confession respecting the Eternal Sonship of Christ and the Procession of the Holy Spirit, and the nature of saving faith. They maintain that "every single congregation, united in the faith, hope, and obedience of the gospel, is independent of any other congregation, and that by having the Lord Jesus Christ as

(1)
their Head they are complete in themselves". They do not deny the validity of synods and councils for consultation and the promotion of common religious interests, but they cannot agree that such assemblies have power to determine controversies of faith, cases of conscience, etc. They believe that each congregation should have its own presbytery, and that in worship it should observe all the practices warranted by the New Testament, including the plurality of elders and the kiss of charity. They advocate strict communion, weekly observance of the Lord's Supper, and mutual exhortation. In relation to doctrine they consider that "the incomprehensible mysteries of religion should be expressed in scripture language only", and therefore, while believing in the doctrine of the Trinity, they hesitate to accept the definitions of "human creeds" which declare that the Son was eternally begotten of the Father, and that the Holy Ghost proceedeth eternally from the Father and the Son. Such statements, in their judgment, are unwarranted by Scripture. With regard to saving faith, they take exception to the affirmation of the Westminster Confession (c. xiv. sect. 2) that "The principal acts of saving faith are, accepting, receiving, resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal life", as confusing faith with its effects. Faith, they hold, "doth not consist in a train of mental actings, as above mentioned, and the like, which are indeed inseparable effects of faith, but are not so many ingredients in its precise nature. Faith is not a complex but a very simple thing; it is that knowledge which we get of a truth or fact by means of testimony, and is called 'faith' on that

very account. So saving faith is our knowledge or belief of the plan of reconciliation, and of God's testimony concerning his Son... So when a discovery is got of Jesus Christ in the light of God's testimony and record concerning him, it most naturally produceth a receiving, resting, and relying upon him for all salvation, as also the love of him, and a willing subjection to him in everything. But until this fitness, and his appointment as the Saviour, is so discerned, which is the faith of him, these effects or consequences cannot obtain".

The apology presented by Smith and Ferrier reflects the Glasite teaching concerning doctrine and order, and reveals the influence of Glas's "Testimony" and Sandeman's "Letters" upon their thought. It is scarcely surprising that on the publication of their "Case", John Glas should imagine that Smith and Ferrier were new converts to his position, or that he should invite them to make common cause with him. ⁽¹⁾ Smith, however, entertained what Ferrier describes as a "rooted dislike" for Glas, which accounted for the fact that no acknowledgment of indebtedness had been made in the published statement. Smith refused to hold any conversation with Glas, and his attitude influenced that of his young colleague.

After their separation from the Church of Scotland, Smith and Ferrier gathered a congregation at Balchristie, in Newburn parish. A church, consisting of about sixty members mostly belonging to Newburn, though a few came from Largo and other places, was organised on Independent lines. Smith and Ferrier became

(1) Ferrier, "Preface to T. K. M.", 19.

joint-pastors, and deacons were appointed for administrative work, especially the "care of the poor". This arrangement continued until Ferrier's departure to Glasgow.

Meanwhile another movement in the west was preparing the way for the formation of a second church on the pattern of that at Balchristie. Trouble between the Glasgow Town Council and the general Kirk Session on the question of patronage, and an enforced presentation to the Wynd Kirk, led to the withdrawal of several influential members, including David Dale, father of the Scottish cotton-industry, and Archibald Paterson, a wealthy candlemaker. The first intention of the seceders was to establish a new congregation in connection with the Relief Church- indeed, a meeting-house was erected in Cannon Street and opened in 1766⁽²⁾. But before long, Messrs Dale and Paterson, influenced by Glas's "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs", began to entertain doubts as to the Scriptural warrant for the Presbyterian system of government. These doubts were strengthened by an interview with the Rev. John Barclay, afterwards the founder of the "Bereans". It has been said that Mr. Dale desired to join the Glasites, but for this there is no clear evidence. Dale and Paterson, however, with several others, withdrew from the Relief Church and established a meeting in a private house. As the numbers grew, a larger place of worship was needed, and towards the end of 1768, a building to seat 500 was opened in Greyfriars Wynd⁽³⁾. The new church had no connection with any religious body.

(1) David Dale, founder of the famous mills at New Lanark, was one of the most prominent men of his generation. His sterling character won for him general esteem. He was known as "The Benevolent Magistrate". (2) Thomas Boston declined a call to be pastor. (3) This building was popularly called the "Candle Kirk".

About this time, the "Case" of Smith and Ferrier came into the hands of the leaders of the new society who discovered that the views expressed in that pamphlet resembled their own. A correspondence was opened with the two Fife brethren, the result of which was a union between the churches at Balchristie and Glasgow. Mr. Ferrier was induced to remove to Glasgow to assume the Elder's office, and David Dale, after much hesitancy, consented to become co-elder with Ferrier. The latter's place at Balchristie was filled by James Simpson, a Largo weaver.

The Glasgow church, during its early days, suffered considerable persecution and annoyance at the hands of the populace, but far more serious consequences were caused by the growth of dissension within the congregation, some of which led to secessions. Dale himself was a man of mild disposition, wide charity, and patient considerateness, but his colleague, Robert Ferrier, while earnest and sincere, was inclined to be dogmatic and unbending in cases of differing opinion. Ferrier placed much greater stress than did Dale on the minor details of church order. Differences arose on such points as whether or not the Lord's Prayer should be used in public worship, the "Amen" audibly pronounced by the congregation, the posture of standing adopted during praise as well as prayer. Dale counselled forbearance, but Ferrier insisted upon "unity of judgment". The latter's opinions had approximated more and more to those of the Glasites with whom he had been in cor-
(1)
respondence. At last feeling became so acute that Ferrier in 1770 resigned his connection with the Scots Independents and joined the

(1) Ferrier, "Preface to T. K. M.", 19.

Glasite church in Glasgow. Ferrier justifies his action by the unwillingness of his associates to "practise some of the simplest commandments of the New Testament", and because "unity was no way insisted for; yea, forbearance with those who were not disposed to see such commandments, and refused obedience to them, was strongly contended for, and actually granted"⁽¹⁾. Further, he admits that he had become "the more knit to the doctrine and order I beheld among them (the Glasites), and my conscience upbraided me for differing from them". It was, he says, only his attachment to his friends, who had shown him much kindness, that had held him back from joining the Glasites at an earlier date; but now his attachment to the Word of God compelled his change of connection.

In 1777 another secession took place owing to the adoption of Baptist views by several of the Glasgow members, including Mr. Robert Moncrieff⁽²⁾ and Mrs. David Dale. The loss of members depleted the church which took a long time to recover from the schism. Nevertheless, the movement led by James Smith and David Dale was extended by the formation of new societies in other parts of the country. "The Case" of Smith and Ferrier impressed several readers in Montrose who began a church similar to that at Balchristie. Other societies were established at Marykirk, Perth, Methven, Kirkcaldy, while from the Glasgow church new causes sprang up in

(1) Ferrier's "Preface", 20.

(2) Robert Moncrieff was the brother of the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff, Bart., one of the evangelical leaders in the Church of Scotland. Robt. Moncrieff and nine other former members of the Independent Church were baptised by M'Lean. Moncrieff became one of the pastors of a newly-constituted Baptist Church in Glasgow in 1778. Later, James Duncan, formerly a Glasite, became his colleague. "History of the Baptists in Scotland", 48-49.

Hamilton, Paisley, and New Lanark. Other Independent churches
 (1) (2) (3)
 came into existence at Dundee, Newburgh (Fife), and Sauchieburn
 (Kincardineshire). At a later period Independent churches of
 the "second class" were formed in Edinburgh, Galashiels, and
 Airdrie. There were also small groups in Dunfermline, Strathaven,
 and London. In 1813 a Haldaneite or "Tabernacle" church at
 (4)
 Earlsferry (Fife) joined the Old Scots Independents.

The Old Scots Independents were never a large body. In
 (5)
 1814 their churches, which numbered sixteen with a membership of
 501, entered into union with the Inghamite Societies which were
 (6)
 mostly located in the north-western counties of England. This
 union, largely brought about by the efforts of Mr. James M'Gavin
 of Paisley, was facilitated by the substantial agreement in be-
 lief and practice which existed between the two bodies. It was
 hoped that the united churches would enter upon a new era of
 prosperity and influence, but the expectation was not fulfilled
 in any marked degree. Though one or two new churches were

- (1) This church was formed by Andrew Scott, an Anti-burgher minister, deposed by the Synod because of his objection to the Covenants as a condition of communion. Scott ministered to this congregation for twenty years as sole pastor, but shortly before his retirement in 1789 the church introduced a plurality of elders. Vide Ross, "Hist. Congl. Independency", 36; MacKelvie, "Annals and Statistics of the U.P. Church", 160-161.
- (2) The Newburgh church was established by Alexander Pirie, formerly connected with the Burgher and Anti-burgher bodies. He applied for admission to the Relief Church but was refused, whereupon he returned to Newburgh, the scene of his early ministry, and gathered an Independent church to which he ministered until his death in 1804. Vide, MacKelvie, op. cit. 600-601; Struthers, "History of the Relief Church", 234 ff.
- (3) The church at Sauchieburn was founded by John Barclay in 1773. It was really a "Berean" congregation, but maintained intercourse with the Independent churches in Newburgh and Dundee.
- (4) "The Scottish Church Hist. Soc. Records", III, 140-141.
- (5) Balchristie, Glasgow, Dundee, Marykirk, Methven, Kirkcaldy, Perth, Galashiels, Paisley, Hamilton, Edinburgh, Earlsferry, New Lanark, Dunfermline, Strathaven, London.
- (6) Vide the Section which follows.

established in Scotland, decay had already set in, and the number of congregations gradually diminished, until at last only the⁽¹⁾ Glasgow church remained to represent the body north of the Border. Dr. James Ross gives a threefold reason for the decline : 1, The rise and growth of the new Congregational and Baptist churches which provided for those who otherwise might have been attracted to the Old Independents; 2, The open door presented by these churches to those who had grievances in their old connection; 3, The nonaggressive and non-evangelistic character of the Old⁽²⁾ Independent body as a whole.

In doctrine and order the Old Scots Independents resembled the Glasites by whom their founders, Smith, Ferrier, and Dale, had been deeply influenced. The theological and ecclesiastical basis of the body varied little from the statement put forth by Smith and Ferrier in their "Case", which, as already observed, bears a decidedly Glasite or Sandemanian character. It has been remarked, "Though these churches are not professed followers of Glass and Sandeman, nor acknowledged by Glassites as of their number, it would not be easy for a stranger to discern the difference between them. They are generally admirers of the writings of Glass and Sandeman; and on most theological subjects would, perhaps, express themselves nearly in the same way. Their public⁽³⁾ services, also, are conducted nearly in the same manner".

⁽⁴⁾
Mr. M'Gavin, in his correspondence with the Inghamites

(1) In 1836 this church removed to new premises in Oswald Street where it continued to meet until a few years ago. Afterwards it met in the Christian Institute.

(2) Ross, op. cit., 39-40.

(3) "The London Christian Instructor", II (1819), 433-434.

(4) Published along with M'Gavin's "Historical Sketches" (1814).

prior to union, restated the beliefs and principles of the societies he represented. One letter contains what is termed "a concise abstract of the faith, hope, and practice of these churches". The Old and New Testament Scriptures are declared to be "the only rule of faith and practice". Atonement for sin is the Work of Christ accomplished by His sacrificial death. Sinners are "not justified on account of crediting God's testimony concerning his Son, but by his righteousness alone". "Faith is truly the channel through which the Divine righteousness is imputed to the ungodly just as they are- guilty criminals- and that on the footing of sovereign mercy, and according to the election of grace... Although called to a life of conformity to the image of God's dear Son, without which no man can see the Lord, yet this does not in any respect form part of our acceptance before him; it justifies our faith, as being of the operation of God to the praise of his glory". With regard to the nature of the Church it is stated: "We profess to hold to our Lord's good confession, that his kingdom is not of this world (though in part in the world), that a church of Christ is subject to no jurisdiction under heaven, not under law even to those who are members one of another (although by love they are to serve one-another), but under law to him who is the head of the body, and sole lawgiver in his own kingdom; and with respect to the subjects of his kingdom, we view infants as comprehended, so we receive such by baptism". Church worship and observances are based upon the example of the Apostolic church: "We profess to keep the ordinances as they are delivered to us, by (every Lord's-day) continuing steadfastly in the

apostles' doctrine (i.e., in reading, preaching, or exhorting, either by the elders or other male members), in fellowship, in breaking of bread, and in prayers- the prayers also both by the elders and other brethren". Members are received on public confession of faith before the whole church, and their acceptance is sealed by the right hand of fellowship and the kiss of charity. In each congregation there is a plurality of elders, chosen from the membership. These elders are usually engaged in common occupations. Academic preparation for the ministry was generally disapproved.⁽¹⁾ Discipline was modelled on the instructions in Matthew xviii. Members were expected to abstain from "eating blood and things strangled"⁽²⁾. Contributions were regularly taken for the maintenance of the poorer members. Though they refused to acknowledge any as disciples of Christ who did not "appear to know the truth, and profess subjection to the same", the Scots Independents were not as exclusive as the Glasites in relation to other Christian people, but willingly and generously supported philanthropic and interdenominational agencies such as the British and Foreign Bible Society.

(1) David Dale, however, appreciated the value of education, and sought to equip himself by careful study, even taking tuition in Greek and Hebrew. He also possessed a missionary spirit lacking in most of his associates.

(2) James M'Gavin published a tract, "The Unlawfulness of Using Blood for Food Proved from the Word of God".

SECTION 3 : THE INGHAMITES

The Inghamites were the followers of Benjamin Ingham, an outstanding figure in connection with the Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century. At Oxford he came under the influence of the Wesleys with whom he was associated as a member of the "Methodist" group known as the "Holy Club". Soon after his ordination in 1735 he was invited to accompany John Wesley, Charles Wesley, and Charles Delamotte on their mission to Georgia. It was during the voyage that the friends came into touch with the Moravian missionaries, led by Bishop David Nitschmann, whose influence was destined to affect so profoundly their future careers. Ingham was greatly impressed by the piety, simplicity, and earnestness of the Moravian brethren, from whom he obtained clearer views of religious truth, especially Justification by Faith. On returning to England two years later he attracted wide-spread attention as an evangelical preacher, and was the means of promoting a revival of religion in the northern counties. Ingham found it difficult to provide adequately for the needs of his numerous converts who gathered themselves into religious groups. Unlike Wesley, he did not possess in equal proportions the gifts of evangelism and organisation. In his perplexity he turned to the Moravian Brethren who now had representatives in England. The Moravians agreed to lend assistance, and in 1742 August Spangenberg visited Ingham to discuss conditions of co-operation.

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- (1) Canon Overton describes Ingham as "the most thorough High Churchman of the early Methodists", but errs in stating that he "afterwards became a member of the small sect called the Sandemanians".- "The English Church in the Eighteenth Cent.", II, 320.
(2) Wesley's "Journal", Oct. 14th 1735.
(3) Tyerman, "The Oxford Methodists", 123.
(4) G.A. Wauer, "The Beginnings of the Brethren's Church in England", 87.

He stated that the Brethren could have nothing to do with the Societies unless they were free to observe only "what our Saviour should approve of". Ingham undertook to leave the sole management of affairs in the hands of the Moravians, reserving to himself the right of preaching. A formal request, signed by hundreds of Ingham's adherents, was addressed to the Brethren asking for⁽¹⁾ supervision and spiritual guidance.

Ingham's agreement with the Moravians has led some writers⁽²⁾ to assume that he definitely withdrew from the Church of England, but this is denied by Bishop Hassé who, while admitting that Ingham "more than any one else, prepared the way for Moravian evangelism in the North of England", declares that he "never actually left the Church of England"⁽³⁾. Whether or not Ingham may be regarded as a Moravian, his fifty Societies were placed under the control of the Brethren and assumed a distinctively Moravian character. Relieved of direct responsibility, Ingham continued his evangelistic labours in which he was assisted by a number of enthusiastic colleagues, including Lawrence, William, and Christopher Batty, the three sons of Giles Batty, Esq., of Newby,⁽⁴⁾ Settle.

In course of time differences arose between Ingham and the Moravian leaders. Not only did he feel himself out of sympathy with some of their views, but also cramped by their discipline. Gradually the ties were loosened until at last (about 1752)

(1) Wauer, op. cit., 87; E.R. Hassé, "The Moravians", 57.

(2) Tyerman asserts that Ingham "had already virtually seceded, and was at the head of the Moravian sect in Yorkshire", (op. cit., 99).

(3) Hassé, op. cit., 57. Cf. Wauer, op. cit., 88.

(4) "The Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon", I, 246-247.⁽⁹⁹⁾

(1)
he broke his connection completely, even withdrawing his son,
(2)
Ignatius, from the Brethren's school at Fulneck. He now decided
to carry on independently and to gather his societies under his
own wing. The Battys adhered to him, and in 1752 he was joined
(3)
by James Allen who, though only eighteen, soon won the confidence
of his leader.

After the separation of Ingham and his people from the
Moravians, attempts were made to effect a union with the Methodists,
(4)
but they were unsuccessful. Owing to persecution, the Societies
were under the necessity of securing licenses for their meeting-
houses. These were taken out in the simple name of Protestant
Dissenters, as Ingham declared that he was neither a Moravian nor
(5)
a Methodist. In 1755 a Conference of Ingham's preachers was held
at Winewall to discuss matters of doctrine and discipline. Ingham
was appointed as General Overseer, while William Batty and James
Allen were elected as General Elders to assist Mr. Ingham in the
supervision of the Societies. After examination in their doctrin-
al principles, Batty and Allen were ordained by Ingham with prayer
(6)
and the imposition of hands.

At first the Inghamite Societies had no clearly defined
order. Even after the appointment of Ingham as General Overseer
the polity remained undetermined. A plan of government derived
mostly from the Moravians, was submitted by Ingham to his preachers,

(1) Ingham was married to Lady Margaret Hastings, sister of the
Earl of Huntingdon whose wife was the famous Countess.

(2) "The New Evangelical Magazine", V, 123.

(3) Supra, 186.

(4) Tyerman, op. cit., 137-138.

(5) "The New Evang. Mag.", V, 185.

(6) In this step Ingham anticipated by nearly thirty years a sim-
ilar action by John Wesley. His assumption of episcopal functions
marked his definite separation from the Anglican Church. From
this time Ingham was designated "Bishop" by the Countess of
Huntingdon.

who, instead of accepting it, postponed decision until after further consideration. In some respects Ingham's Societies had affinities with the order of the Moravians and Methodists. The members of a Society were divided into Classes, each with its Class-leader who superintended the spiritual interests of his small group. Candidates for fellowship were publicly examined respecting their beliefs and Christian experience. If any difference of opinion arose about the acceptance of a candidate, the matter was decided by "lot"- the common method in cases of difficulty. On acceptance, new members received the "kiss of charity". Love-feasts were kept and the Lord's Supper observed monthly.

It was in 1759 that Ingham's attention was first drawn to Sandeman's "Letters on Theron and Aspasio" and Glas's "The
(1)
Testimony of the King of Martyrs". His interest was further
(2)
aroused by George Whitefield's account of the order and discipline of the Glasite churches in Scotland. Batty and Allen shared his
(3)
interest. In August 1761 Messrs Batty and Allen proceeded to Scotland to discover first-hand the character of the churches as-
(4)
sociated with Glas and Sandeman. Arriving in Edinburgh early on Sunday morning, August 16th, they visited the meeting-house where they heard Sandeman preach. At the close of the service they in-

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- (1) Sandeman's work was introduced to Ingham and Allen by Ignatius la Trobe.- "The Christian Advocate", I (1809), 173.
(2) "A New Theological Dictionary" (1807), 21.
(3) Allen says, "By the printed works of Messrs Glas and Sandeman I was led to see my folly in my past ways and diligently to search the Scriptures".- "Treatise on Redemption", 51.
(4) The present writer was shown a MS. extract from "The Diary of a Methodist Preacher (1761)" preserved by an old Glasite family. This proved to be the record of the itinerary of Allen and Batty from Aug. 16 to 23, 1761.

roduced themselves to the preacher. Sandeman invited them to his house where they were received with great cordiality. Their host impressed them as "a free, open, and sociable man"⁽¹⁾. Sunday evening and Monday were spent in long conversations respecting faith and order. The visitors informed Sandeman that they had over 1500 members connected with their Societies which they desired to establish in a Scriptural church order. At Perth, whither Sandeman accompanied them, they "found such a hearty, hospitable, kind entertainment in the manner of Christian fellowship, and upon the footing of the Gospel, as was unexpected and quite wonderful and beyond anything we have ever seen"⁽²⁾. On the Friday they went on to Dundee where they met John Glas who insisted upon their accepting the hospitality of his home. They presented a letter from Mr. Ingham along with a contribution of Five Guineas as a token of appreciation of the help derived from his "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs"⁽³⁾. The following day they conversed on religious matters, indicating their agreement with the doctrinal opinions of the Glasites, after which Mr. Glas "rose up and came to us and said he thought he must give us a kiss of charity which he accordingly did with great affection and gravity"⁽⁴⁾. On the Sunday they attended the services at which Sandeman and Glas preached. The sermon of the latter impressed them by the earnestness with which it was delivered, as well as the spiritual insight which it revealed. On the following day they set out on their return journey, filled with admiration for all they had seen and heard. The hosts

(1) "Diary", August 16th. (2) Ibid., August 19th.
(3) "The New Evang. Mag.", V, 187; "Letters in Correspondence", 65.
(4) "Diary", August 22nd.

were equally delighted with the visitors. Writing to Churchill a fortnight later, Sandeman says, "The Yorkshiremen who were both preachers of long standing, staid with us more than eight days. I went with them to Perth, Dunkeld, and Dundee,- the more we were acquainted we were the fonder of each other. Mr. Glas was very much pleased with them⁽¹⁾".

Batty and Allen returned ardent advocates of Glasite principles. They duly presented their report, but full consideration was deferred until the next General Conference which was to settle the government and discipline of the united Societies. When the Conference met at Thinoaks in October, it was decided to organise the churches on the "congregational plan" instead of the Methodist "society plan". But difficulties soon began to appear, and ere long the Inghamite churches were rent asunder⁽²⁾. James Allen and his supporters withdrew their connection to join the Glasites. The defection of old friends caused great pain to Ingham who viewed with alarm the division among his followers⁽³⁾. The controversy had disastrous effects upon the Inghamite churches generally. Secessions and excommunications became frequent, until at last the societies were reduced from eighty to thirteen and the membership from 1500 to 250. Some years later, William Romaine declared of the Inghamite Societies: "If ever there was a Church of God upon earth, that was one. I paid them a visit, and had a great mind to join them. There was a blessed work of God

(1) "Letters in Correspondence", 65.

(2) A fuller account is given above, p. 185.

(3) It is to the credit of both Ingham and Allen that they continued to hold one-another in affectionate esteem.

among that people, till that horrid blast from the north came
upon them and destroyed all⁽¹⁾".

In view of the devastating effects of this "blast from the north", it is a matter of surprise to find Ingham prepared to give further consideration to the Glasite principles. The writings of Glas and Sandeman, however, had profoundly affected his own thought which became increasingly sympathetic towards many of their opinions. In 1763 he published "A Discourse on the Faith and Hope of the Gospel"⁽²⁾, which bears distinct traces of Glasite or Sandemanian influence. At an earlier period of his career, when the pioneers of Methodism divided on theological questions, Wesley adopting the Arminian system and Whitefield the Calvinistic, Ingham took a middle course. He endeavoured to harmonise the doctrines of universal redemption and particular election. But gradually his thought assumed a Calvinistic complexion which became more pronounced after he read the works of Sandeman and Glas. "There can be no question", remarks Tyerman, "that he substantially embraced the dogmas which they had so boldly propounded"⁽³⁾. Ingham strongly maintained salvation by the imputation of Christ's righteousness, independent of all acts on the part of the sinner. "Sinners are neither justified for their own believing, nor their own obeying, nor for both together; neither for the truth or sincerity of their believing, or any act of faith, nor anything they have done, can do, or ever will do.

(1) Tyerman, "The Oxford Methodists", 140.

(2) Printed for the author at Leeds in a 12mo volume, 207 pp.
An addition published in London (1822) was erroneously ascribed to William Romaine.

(3) Tyerman, op. cit., 147.

Neither are they justified for anything wherein they differ from others, or excel others, nor for anything done or wrought in them; for the whole and sole cause of the justification of sinners is the active and passive obedience of Jesus Christ, called the righteousness of God, 'which is unto all them that believe'⁽¹⁾".

His conception of faith is fundamentally Sandemanian: "To believe a thing meaneth to assent to, and credit it as true. To believe in a thing meaneth to confide or trust in it, to rely or depend ⁽²⁾ on it... The faith of the Gospel is the believing of God's testimony concerning Christ and his righteousness, and believing in Jesus Christ and his most perfect and divine righteousness, as the only sure ground of the hope of eternal life"⁽³⁾". This conception of justifying faith dominates the book, and there can be little doubt that Ingham derived it from Sandeman's "Letters"⁽⁴⁾.

After the breach among his followers Ingham served as Elder of the church at Tadcaster near to which he lived. Like the other Societies this was but a shadow of its former self.⁽⁵⁾ He also continued in his office as General Overseer of his attenuated Connection. But his spirit was broken, and he suffered from severe fits of depression.⁽⁶⁾ "The almost total dispersion of

(1) "A Discourse on the Faith and Hope of the Gospel", 13.

(2) Ibid., 6.

(3) Ibid., 9.

(4) Cf. Wesley's remark: "1765, January 20th, I looked over Mr. Romaine's strange book on the 'Life of Faith'. I thought nothing could ever exceed Mr. Ingham's, but really this does; although they differ not an hair's breadth from each other, any more than from Mr. Sandeman".- "Wesley's Journal".

(5) Many of Ingham's people transferred their allegiance to Wesley. Wesley writes, July 23rd 1766: "I went to Tadcaster. Here Mr. Ingham had once a far larger society than ours; but it has now shrunk into nothing; ours meantime, is continually increasing".

(6) One of the severest blows to Ingham was the defection of his only son, Ignatius, who seceded to join the Glasites in 1766. "Supp. Letters", 103; "New Evang. Mag.", V, 190. Ignatius in later life returned to his father's Connection.

the Yorkshire churches, caused by the introduction of the Sandemanian principles, had a sad effect upon Mr. Ingham's mind. He was liable to sudden transitions from the highest flow of spirits to the utmost depression, and the peculiar character of his temperament was an extreme accessibility to sudden attacks of melancholy. It was his belief that calamity was connected with the conviction of sin and the desert of punishment⁽¹⁾".

After Ingham's death in 1772 the care of the churches fell to William Batty until his own death in 1787. Twenty-seven years later⁽²⁾ (1814) the Inghamite churches united with the Old Scots Independents whose principles resembled their own, including the rejection of the orthodox view of the Trinity and the Eternal Sonship of Christ. In most respects the teaching of Glas and Sandeman was approved by the Inghamites.

(1) "The Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon", I, 301.
(2) The churches were: Wheatley (56 members), Winewall (41), Kendal (27), Nottingham (25), Salterforth (21), Bulwell (17), Tadcaster (14), Howden (11), Wibsey (10), Leeds (9), Rothwell (8), Todmorden (5). Vide Tyerman, op. cit., 154; Ross, "Hist. Cong. Independency", 39. A few of these churches, the chief of which is that at Winewall (Colne) still remain. (Private information).

SECTION 4 : THE HALDANEITES

The evangelical movement associated with the names of the brothers Haldane was a reaction from the chilling influence of Moderatism which, towards the end of the Eighteenth Century, dominated the Scottish Church. The period has been described as "the midnight of the Church of Scotland". Here and there were to be found earnest pastors who took their calling seriously, but the majority of the clergy were not only destitute of evangelical zeal, but also opposed to it in others. Scotland stood in need of a religious awakening, and the new movement was designed to meet this need. When the Haldanes commenced their evangelistic activities they had no thought of establishing bodies outside the National Church of which they were devoted members. Their later separation was due to the pressure of unforeseen circumstances, not the least compelling of which was the attitude adopted by many of the clergy who disliked their aims and methods and did all within their power to hinder their work. But another cause leading to separation was the change which took place in the thought of the Haldanes and their followers respecting Christian fellowship and church order. The old bottles were insufficient to contain the new wine. In course of time the Haldane movement gave rise to two new religious denominations which, though comparatively small, have exercised a considerable influence upon the religious thought and life of Scotland for well over a hundred years. These bodies were the New Independents or Congregationalists, and the New Baptists- so called to distinguish

them from the earlier groups of Independents, the Glasites, the Old Scots Independents, and the Scots Baptists. But the movement in its origins was not ecclesiastical but solely evangelical, having as its object the promotion of spiritual religion and the quickening of the existing Churches.

Robert and James Alexander Haldane belonged to a highly-respected and well-to-do Scottish family. In their early manhood they achieved distinction as naval officers. While still young men they retired from the sea. Both brothers passed through a deep religious experience which altered the course of their lives. Robert, who had settled down to the life of a country gentleman, felt impelled to dispose of his beautiful estate and devote himself and his means to the propagation of the Gospel in Bengal. Frustrated in this purpose by the opposition of the East India Company, he turned his attention to the situation at home. He saw that there were districts in Scotland where inadequate provision was made for spiritual ministrations, and other districts where vital religion was lacking. He determined to lend his support to an effort to make good the defects. Heartily seconded by his brother James, and encouraged by the sympathetic interest of like-minded people, including some ministers of the Church of Scotland, he initiated his scheme. In the summer of 1797 James Haldane, accompanied by John Aikman and Joseph Rate, undertook an itinerary to the north of Scotland which met with a remarkable response.⁽¹⁾ "This", says Dr. John Cunningham, "was the first of a series of preaching-tours made by Haldane and his companions in

(1) "Journal of a Tour through the Northern Counties of Scotland", edited by J.A.Haldane (1798); Kinniburgh MSS. (General Account).

which they visited almost every town and village in Scotland and assailed legal Christianity in its strongholds⁽¹⁾". The success of the undertaking led to the formation of an interdenominational Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home which received much support. A centre was opened in Edinburgh, and a site acquired for the erection of a large "Tabernacle" in Leith Walk.

The Haldanes and some of their colleagues were laymen, and their activities were regarded with disfavour by the clergy who disliked lay-preaching. The leaders of the Moderate party in the National Church, and the leaders of the Secession Church took alarm. The new movement was denounced as subversive of church order. It became increasingly clear that if the work were to continue it must be unhampered by ecclesiastical authority. Many of those awakened by the Haldaneite evangelists were dissatisfied with their church connections, as were also some of the ministers who supported the movement. They were particularly concerned about the common laxity in the admission of persons to communion who made little or no profession of religion, and whose lives, in some cases, were manifestly irreligious. At the beginning of December 1798 Greville Ewing, one of the clerical colleagues of the Haldanes, resigned his charge at Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edinburgh, and intimated his withdrawal from the Church of Scotland. As yet there was no independent church which owed its origin to the Haldane movement, but a few days later a number of interested friends decided to form themselves into a Congre-

(1) "The Church History of Scotland" (1st ed.), II, 572.

gational Church in Edinburgh. Greville Ewing was entrusted with the preparation of a constitution, and James Haldane was invited to become pastor. The church was constituted in January 1799, and on February 3rd James Haldane was solemnly ordained by Greville Ewing, assisted by two other ministers, with prayer and the im-
(1)
position of hands.

From this time churches on the Congregational plan sprang
(2)
up in various parts of Scotland, particularly in the north. In most cases these were the fruit of the evangelical revival, and ~~their~~ bond of fellowship was not so much a common doctrine or order as a common experience and zeal for the progress of the Gospel. Congregationalism seemed to provide the best opportunities for pursuing evangelistic activities. It is true that Greville Ewing, as the result of private study, had come to accept Independ-
(3)
ency as a matter of principle, but with many Congregationalism was
(4)
at first an expedient rather than a vital principle. As time went on, and the Presbyterian opposition increased, the Haldaneites were compelled in self-defence to give more attention to polity and order. Gradually their Congregationalism assumed a definite character for which they were ready to contend against all critics. As the churches multiplied, it was clearly apparent that the New Independency was firmly established on Scottish soil.

It was natural that the leaders of the new churches should acquaint themselves with the principles of the old Independency

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- (1) "The Lives of Robert and James Alexander Haldane", 219-224.
(2) The Tabernacle Church, however, was not the first Independent church to be formed in Scotland. Vide Thompson, "The Origins of Congregationalism in Scotland", 273 ff. Between 1798 and 1807 no fewer than 85 new churches were formed and pastors settled.
(3) Ewing, more than any other man, may be called the "Father of Modern Congregationalism in Scotland".
(4) "Lives of the Haldanes", 331.

which, though ⁿow in a decadent state, had borne its witness for nearly seventy years, but it would have been well if they had taken care to discover the causes of its decadence in order to avoid the mistakes of their predecessors. Unfortunately the new Independents copied some of the errors of the Glasites and Old Scots Independents, with the result that their ranks were divided and their strength impaired. A growing concern for matters of order and discipline, though it did not destroy the spirit of evangelism, certainly interfered with its effective expression. The door was opened to the spirit of controversy; stress was laid upon minor interests; a passion for conformity to apostolic precedent. became general. ⁽¹⁾ The inevitable result was that disputes arose as to what was apostolic order and practice. By 1807 divisions manifested themselves in the fellowship, and in the following year the greatest cleavage took place over the question of Baptism. James Haldane embraced Baptist views in which he was shortly followed by his brother Robert. The broadening river, which had received its waters from the heights of evangelical fervour, now divided into two channels which have never converged to meet in one main stream. Those who adhered to the Haldanes' views became the New Baptists, while the majority who followed Ewing formed the nucleus of the churches which four years later (1812) constituted the Congregational Union of Scotland.

Almost from the beginning the churches born of the evangelical revival were affected by the sentiments of Glas and his disciples. Ewing was conversant with the works of Glas and

(1) Kinniburgh MSS. (General Account), 49-50.

Sandeman, and his changed views on the nature and constitution of the Church were partly derived from these writers. Though he did not accept all their teaching, his appreciation went so far as to evoke the disapproval of the Haldanes who deprecated his⁽¹⁾ "enthusiastic manner" of commending these theologians. When the brothers learned that he had placed Sandeman's "Letters" in the library of the newly-established Theological Academy in Glasgow they independently wrote to him in protest. Forty-five years later, when James Haldane had occasion to refute an imputation of Sandemanianism, he reverted to this incident, stating how he endeavoured to convince Ewing that Sandeman's book was a dangerous work to put into the hands of young men, but that his warning was unavailing. "My letter", he says, "embraced other topics, which met with Mr. Ewing's approbation; and in his reply he told me he had read it to the class, with the exception of my remarks⁽²⁾ on Sandeman, of which he disapproved, and against which he argued". In the same letter (April 15th 1846) Haldane declares that he had "uniformly disapproved of Sandeman" and had considered "many of his views most unscriptural". This is confirmed by Alexander Haldane who states: "To many of the principles of Glas and Sandeman, and especially to their bitter, intolerant spirit, both the brothers were at all times strongly opposed"⁽³⁾. The Haldanes possessed a spirit of forbearance lacking in Glas and Sandeman. "Many writers", says James Haldane, "have adopted an improper

(1) Alex. Haldane, "Lives of the Haldanes", 331.

(2) "The Evangelical Magazine", LIV (N.S., XXIV, 1846), 249.
Cf. Ewing's version in "Facts and Documents".

(3) "Lives of the Haldanes", 356.

style; but he (Sandeman) stands pre-eminent for his systematic contempt of all his opponents, more especially of those who seemed to be in earnest about religion⁽¹⁾". In certain of their doctrinal statements he considered the Glasites too dogmatic and narrow, and in some of their practices too lax. He deprecated the contemptuous way in which they spoke of "heart-religion".

It must not be assumed, however, that James Haldane disagreed with all the views of Glas and Sandeman; indeed, in some respects he stood nearer to them than did Greville Ewing. "With all their faults", he writes, "the Glasites are entitled to the gratitude of believers for the manner in which they exhibited the doctrine of the atonement when its glory was much obscured by human systems... Glas and Sandeman boldly opposed the popular doctrine. They vindicated the freeness of the grace of God, affirming that faith is simply the belief of the truth; and with this they connected a far more scriptural view of the nature of the kingdom of Christ than had been formerly held in this country. They not only maintained that all national churches are antichristian, but proved from the Scriptures, that believers, in every age, are laid under the strongest obligations to be followers in all things of the apostolic churches⁽²⁾".

James Haldane appreciated the Glasite emphasis on the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, the sovereignty of God, the freeness of Divine grace in redemption, and the simplicity of faith. John Walker of Dublin, whom Haldane took to task for his

(1) "Strictures on.. (Walker's) 'Primitive Christianity'" (1820), 10.

(2) Ibid., 11-12.

Sandemanianism, retorted that he too might seem "somewhat infected with the leaven of that odious thing, which he calls Sandemanianism; as where he appears, however feebly and cautiously, to vindicate Glas and Sandeman for 'affirming that faith is simply the belief of the truth', the truth testified in the scriptures; and where, in opposition to those excellent men who (he tells us) 'undervalued the simple belief of the truth as nothing better than the faith of devils' (p.11), he pronounces that it is most improper to charge men with denying the work of the Spirit, because they hold that faith is nothing more than the belief of the truth' (p.15)⁽¹⁾". Haldane agreed with the Glasites that faith is belief of the testimony concerning Jesus Christ, but he was dissatisfied with Sandeman's definition of faith as "bare belief"⁽²⁾. Both he and his brother endeavoured to harmonise the doctrines of the sovereignty of God and the responsibility of man. To them religion included both a response of the heart and a belief of the mind. They tried to avoid "the error of those who would interpose something between the sinner and Christ, and ... the more dangerous extreme of making the profession of a mere intellectual act, unaccompanied by any change of heart, a title to salvation"⁽³⁾. Consequently they included within their definition of faith the idea of trust or confidence in Christ⁽⁴⁾.

There is reason to believe that both the Haldanes gradually approximated to Glasite views. Greville Ewing states that Robert Haldane admitted to him that he had changed his

(1) Walker, "Essays and Correspondence": 'A Sufficient Reply', Vol. I, 451.
(2) "Strictures", 73.
(3) "Lives of the Haldanes", 477. (4) Ibid., 356.

(1)
views respecting the value of the works of Glas and Sandeman,
"The fact was, that before he (Haldane) had read Glas and Sande-
man, he had a great dislike to them... At last Mr. Haldane was
induced to read them himself, and became as much enamoured, as
before he had been jealous, of them". (2) It was the increasing
Sandemanianism of the Haldanes which largely accounted for the
breach between them and Ewing, and their admiration for the
Glasite doctrine soon extended to the Glasite order. In Ewing's
judgment threatened to undermine the constitution of the churches.

In 1805 James Haldane published his notable work on
Social Worship in which he dealt exhaustively with the institut-
ions and order of the New Testament. The Index gives only one
reference to Glas, but the Glasite teaching is traceable through-
out the book. (3) Haldane comes forward as a strenuous advocate for
the restoration of Primitive Christianity. In his Preface he
states that as the Christian religion is one connected whole in
its doctrines, precepts and institutions, no one part can be
overlooked without the force of all being weakened. Christ has
revealed His will and instituted ordinances which are so many
sensible images of the doctrines He taught. (4)

Haldane maintains that a church, like every other
society, must have its proper laws; that "the New Testament con-
tains a complete system of regulations for Christian worship", (5)
from which there must be no deviation on the part of believers

(1) Ewing, "Facts and Documents", 81. (2) Ibid., 82. Cf. 95.

(3) "A View of Social Worship and Ordinances Observed by the
First Christians, Drawn from the Sacred Scriptures Alone; Being
an Attempt to Enforce their Divine Obligation; and to Represent
the Guilt and Evil Consequences of Neglecting Them".

(4) "Social Worship", pp. iii-iv. (5) Ibid., ch. II.

who are "bound to observe the universal and approved practices
of the first churches recorded in Scripture"⁽¹⁾. To him the re-
ligion of Jesus is something given not something to be discovered-
a religion of revelation which presents truths to be conserved,
not altered at the discretion of men. If the apostolic practices
are not binding "there is no precise model whatever in the New
Testament for the constitution and government of a church"⁽²⁾. To
the apostles have been committed the keys of the kingdom of
heaven, and by means of their doctrine alone can entrance be ob-
tained.⁽³⁾ "An injunction delivered by an apostle, or the practice
of any church handed down to us in Scripture as sanctioned by
him, ought to be accounted a revelation of the Lord's will on
that particular point"⁽⁴⁾. Haldane declines to allow the argument
that differences of circumstance warrant the setting aside of
apostolic precept or practice, for that would produce confusion,
every man assuming to judge what was the right course to follow.

In enunciating this principle of conformity to apostolic
precedent Haldane follows Glas and his disciples. Forty years
later he described as a "general principle of universal appli-
cation" that "No church of Christ is warranted to adopt any
practice, for which neither apostolic precept nor example can
be produced in the Scriptures"⁽⁵⁾.

With this principle in mind, Haldane discusses the de-
tails of Church institutions, the constitution of the church, the
character of the ministry, the ordinances and discipline of the

(1) "Social Worship", Ch. III. (2) Ibid., 39. (3) Ibid., 44.
(4) Ibid., 49. (5) "Christian Union" (1846), 45.

apostolic churches. Like the Glasites, he holds the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom and rejects the authority of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. He insists upon the independence⁽¹⁾ of the local congregation which is composed of true believers. In each church there should be a plurality of elders, with no⁽²⁾ distinction between a ruling and a teaching elder. Christian worship must conform to the primitive order recorded in Acts 11, when the brethren met on the Lord's-day for exhortation, fellowship,⁽³⁾ prayer and praise, and the breaking of bread. Fasting, on extraordinary occasions, is an important duty, pre-supposing abstinence⁽⁴⁾ from lawful and ordinary employments. Baptism is not a social but an individual ordinance, applicable to children within the covenant of grace; therefore every believer is bound to have⁽⁵⁾ his children baptised. Discipline must conform to the rule of⁽⁶⁾ Christ (Matt. xviii). Decisions are not to be determined by votes,⁽⁷⁾ but by prayer and reference to the Word of God. Offenders who refuse⁽⁸⁾ to "hear the church" are to be cut off from fellowship.

In all these particulars Haldane's views resembled those of Glas, but in others he differed from him. Strongly as he maintained the obligation of conformity to apostolic precedent, he did not hesitate to exercise his private judgment on certain points. Unlike the Glasites he did not regard community of goods, love-feasts, foot-washing, the holy kiss, and abstinence from blood-eating, as binding. Respecting community of goods, it is

(1) "Social Worship", Ch.V. sect.1. (2) Ibid., ch. VII.
(3) Ibid., Ch. IX. sect. 1-4. (4) Ibid., Ch. IX. sect. 5.
(5) Ibid., Ch. IX. sect. 7. Later he repudiated these views.
(6) Ibid., Ch. X. (7) Ibid., p.372. (8) Ibid., p. 359.

true that the Jerusalem church held all things in common, but re-
(1)
nunciation of private property was voluntary, not obligatory.

Haldane does not consider that love-feasts are represented in the
New Testament as church ordinances. They might be held in private
(2)
houses as social meals, but not in the assembly of the church.

The holy kiss and the washing of feet were local customs- acts of
salutation and courtesy common at the time, but not intended to
be perpetuated in all lands and all ages. It is sufficient if we
"use the modes of salutation customary in this country". Christ
washed His disciples' feet as an example of humility, not to
(3)
establish a ceremony. Abstinance from eating blood and things
strangled was a requirement applying to the Jews. Haldane under-
stands the precept, Acts xv. 28-29, as parallel with Romans xiv.15,
and states that his brother's sentiments were the same as his own,
for when Greville Ewing published a lecture in support of the
abstention from blood-eating, Robert Haldane declined to encourage
(4)
the sale of the pamphlet.

Though Haldane's book on "Social Worship" was well re-
ceived by his associates, every detail did not meet with unquali-
(5)
fied approval. The question which aroused most criticism related
to the Elder's Office. Haldane had commended the views contained
in William Ballantine's "Observations on the Confession of Faith"
(2nd edition, 1804). In 1807 Ballantine published "A Treatise
on the Elder's Office", etc., in which he emphasised the necessity
of a presbytery in every church. Published under the patronage

(1) "Social Worship", 79, 86. (2) Ibid., 89-90.
(3) Ibid., 91-93. (4) "The Evangelical Mag." (1846), 250.
(5) Ewing took exception to parts of the book.- "Facts and Docu-
ments", 92.

(1)
Of Robert Haldane whose sentiments it represented, this book caused a great stir among the "Tabernacle" churches. Referring to the circulation of the work, Robert Kinniburgh says, "A withering blast came from the north, which was attended with direful consequences"⁽²⁾. Impressed by Ballantine's arguments some enthusiasts adopted a low view of the pastoral office and depreciated special training for the ministry. Those whose opinions were different felt constrained to answer these new ideas. Greville Ewing published "An Attempt toward a Statement of the Doctrine of Scripture on some disputed Points, respecting the Constitution, Government, &c., of the Church of Christ"⁽³⁾ (1807), while John Aikman issued his "Observations on Exhortation in the Churches of Christ". These, in turn, elicited pamphlet replies by Messrs Haldane, Ballantine, Jackson, and Alexander Carson.

This controversy disturbed the unity of the Haldaneite churches, but open rupture did not occur until after James Haldane intimated his changed views on Baptism. James was immersed in the Spring of 1808, and Robert a few months later. About 200 members of the Tabernacle church in Edinburgh adhered to them. The Haldanes were disposed to leave the question of Baptism an open one, but some of their ardent followers showed unwillingness to practise forbearance. The Haldaneites were now divided into two parties, each having its representatives in most of the Independent churches in Scotland. A modern Baptist historian says, "The disintegration of the associated churches became general throughout the country,

(1) Some years later Robert Haldane frankly admitted that the system of the plural eldership did not work.- "Lives of Haldanes", 354.
(2) "Historical Sketches", quoted in "Lives of the Haldanes", 332.
(3) Cf. "Facts and Documents", 96.

and their divisions on the subject gave birth to numerous Baptist Churches, but unhappily not unattended with soreness and recrimination⁽¹⁾. This schism, which dealt a severe blow to evangelism, left two weak and warring groups. Some friends of the Haldane movement returned to their Presbyterian allegiance, while many both within and outside the movement mourned over the effects of division which "laid in ruins one of the noblest schemes which modern times have witnessed for diffusing religion, and evangelising the population of the country"⁽²⁾.

The churches which remained Independent, as distinct from Baptist, gradually discarded peculiarities of belief and practice due to Glasite influence, and approximated more to the type of Congregationalism found south of the Border. The Glasite influence, however, persisted in varying degrees among the New Baptist churches which generally accepted the principles expounded in Haldane's "Social Worship" with the addition of Believer's Baptism. In 1819 the Tabernacle church in Leith Walk, Edinburgh, replied to a Questionnaire⁽³⁾ addressed by a church in New York to various groups in Britain and Ireland concerning their order and discipline. The Edinburgh reply⁽⁴⁾, which follows mainly the lines of Haldane's book, reveals that the church endeavoured to adapt its procedure to the apostolic traditions, observing weekly Communion, plurality of elders, mutual exhortation, the kiss of charity, and the baptism of believers. Points of difference were standing at prayer, non-observance of love-feasts and washing of feet, non-insistence on

(1) Percival Waugh in "The History of the Baptists in Scotland", 59.
(2) G. Struthers, "The History of the Relief Church", 407.
(3) Published verbatim in "The Christian Baptist" (ed. A. Campbell), One Vol. ed., 389 ff., and in "The New Evang. Mag.", IV, 235-237.
(4) "The Christian Baptist", 392-394.

unanimity in decisions, and open communion with godly persons, though not immersed.

The Haldaneite views of church order were carried to Ireland and America, where churches of a like complexion were formed. The leading Haldaneite church in Ireland was at Tubermore, Co. Derry. Of this church, formed in 1807, Alexander Carson, one of the ablest controversialists of his day, was a pastor. In practice the Tubermore church resembled that at Edinburgh. A plurality of elders was held to be a Divine ordinance, but not so the kiss of charity, the love-feast, or the washing of feet. In 1819 there were 250 members connected with this church.

In America a few Haldaneite churches were formed by Scottish immigrants who brought their principles from the homeland. During the second decade of the Nineteenth Century, George Forrester, a Haldaneite preacher, organised a small group of immersed believers at Pittsburgh, and had as his colleague John Tassey, a former student of a Haldane Academy in Scotland. The Pittsburgh church was locally known as the "kissing Baptists", owing to the observance of the kiss of charity. Foot-washing was also practised in this society. In 1816 a party seceded from the Baptist church in New York City to form a church on the Haldaneite lines. This was the group which in 1818 addressed the Questionnaire, already mentioned, to the churches in Europe. Its social worship, which included the love-feast, the kiss of charity, and foot-washing, was an attempt to reproduce the New Testament order: "When thus

(1) "Lives of the Haldanes", 512. A Scotsman by birth, Carson began his ministry as a Presbyterian.
(2) Reply to N.Y. Questionnaire. "The Christian Baptist", 407-408.
(3) W.E. Garrison, "Religion Follows the Frontier", 109, 119.
(4) Ibid., 201.

assembled, we proceed to attend to all the ordinances which we can discover to be enjoined by the practice of the first churches, and the commandments of the Lord and his apostles". In some particulars this church resembled the "Scotch" Baptist or M'Leanist churches more than the Haldaneite, and the same may be said of the groups established about the same time in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Danbury, Pittsburgh, and elsewhere. These American churches were not connected as an organised association, but they held occasional correspondence and interchanged friendly visits. Their common bond of interest was the desire to reproduce Primitive Christianity, but in matters of detail they did not always agree as to what procedure was apostolic and primitive.

(1) It is interesting to note that one of the elders of this church at Philadelphia was William Ballantine (supra 301-302). On adopting Baptist views Ballantine resigned his pastorate of the independent church at Elgin in 1807, and removed to London where he was associated with Wm. Jones and S. Stennett in the eldership of the "Scotch" Baptist church in that city. He emigrated to America in 1820, settling in Philadelphia. In 1835 he joined the "Disciples" and served as an elder among them until his death in the following year.

(2) Garrison, op. cit., 119. Vide "The First Part of an Epistolary Correspondence between Christian Churches in America and Europe. Published by the Church at New York meeting in Hubert-street, corner of St. John's-lane". (New York, 1820).

SECTION 5 : THE WALKERITES

The Walkerites, so-called after their founder or leader John Walker of Dublin, were a small Irish sect which arose early in the Nineteenth Century. The disciples of Walker assumed the designation "The Church of God", but generally they were known as "Walkerites" or "Separatists".

John Walker (1768-1833) was a man of forceful character who attained a great reputation as an erudite scholar. He wrote not only on theological subjects but also on Mathematics, Logic, Philosophy, and the Ancient Classics. ⁽¹⁾ The son of an Irish clergyman, he was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, of which he became a Fellow. Dr. Lindsay Alexander refers to him as "This remarkable man, whose splendid abilities and whose great attainments in almost every branch of academical learning made him the pride of his university". ⁽²⁾ He was a priest of the Church of Ireland, and about the age of thirty-five, when he commenced a special study of the principles of Christian fellowship and church order. The result of his study was a decision to sever his connection with the Established Church of Ireland. In his pamphlet "A Brief Account of the People called Separatists" (1821) he relates how a few Christians in Dublin, after an examination of the New Testament, came to see "that all the first Christians in any place were connected together in the closest brotherhood; and that as their connexion was grounded on one apostolic gospel which they believed, so it was altogether regulated by the pre-

(1) E.I. Carlyle, "Dict. Nat. Biog.", LIX. Cf. "The Eclectic Review" (Nov. 1838), IV (N.S.), 520.

(2) W.L. Alexander, "Wardlaw's Life and Correspondence", 91.

cepts delivered to them by the apostles, as the divinely-com-
missioned ambassadors of Christ⁽¹⁾". Believing that the apostolic
word was unchangeable, they established a small fellowship, the
basis of which was conformity to New Testament order. At first
they did not intend to break their existing religious connections,
but about a year later (1804) they became convinced that "the
same divine rule, which regulated their fellowship in the gospel
with each other, forbade them to maintain any religious fellow-
ship with any others. From this view, and the practice conse-
quent upon it, they have been distinguished by the name of Sep-
aratists⁽²⁾". Walker wrote a letter of explanation to the Provost⁽³⁾
of Trinity College, and offered to resign his Fellowship. The
Provost asked him to reconsider the matter, but to this he could
not consent. The following day he was summarily deprived of the
Fellowship which he had held for thirteen years. A week later
Walker resigned membership of three evangelical Societies on the
ground that the Scriptures called him to separate from all ex-
cept those with whom he believed himself authorised to walk as
fellow-disciples in the truth of the Gospel⁽⁴⁾. From this time he
worshipped with a small company of like-minded people in Stafford
Street, Dublin. In 1819 he proceeded to London where a church
was formed in Portsmouth Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. At the
date of the publication of his "Brief Account of the People
called Separatists" there were about a dozen churches associated
with him, the largest being that in Dublin with a membership of
one hundred and thirty⁽⁵⁾.

(1) "Essays", etc., I, 557.
(4) Ibid., I, 206.

(2) Ibid. (3) Ibid., I, 205.
(5) Ibid., I, 557.

(1)

Walker was a prolific writer and a keen controversialist. His theological publications drew considerable attention and called forth replies from well-known writers of the day, including Alexander Knox, James Haldane, and George Payne. Andrew Fuller, who describes Walker as "a Sandemanian clergyman", met him in Dublin shortly before his secession from the Establishment. He says, "I found him like most of the sect (Sandemanians)- calm, acute, versed in the scriptures, but void of feeling". On reading Walker's apology for secession Fuller remarked, "He is ingenious and seems conscientious: but the general cast of his religion appears to have little of the humble, the holy, and the affectionate. Strife seems to be his element". A more favourable impression was that formed by Ralph Wardlaw who first became acquainted with Walker during the latter's visit to Edinburgh in 1806. Wardlaw was present at conversations which the visitor had with James Haldane, John Aikman, and other evangelical leaders. He thought him a man of genial disposition and pleasant manners, but regretted that he should adopt so rigid an attitude on theological questions and entertain such "intolerably contracted notions of Christian communion".

(2)

(3)

(4)

Fuller's description of Walker as "a Sandemanian clergyman" needs qualification. Walker was never a member of the Glasite or Sandemanian body- indeed his strict principle of separation, which forbade visible fellowship with those who held contrary opinions, precluded any such union. Though there was much in com-

(1) Walker's theological writings were collected and edited by Wm. Burton in "Essays and Correspondence", 2 vols. (London, 1838).
(2) John Ryland, "Life of Fuller", 394-395. (3) Ibid., 398.
(4) "Wardlaw's Life and Correspondence", 92-94.
(5) Fuller was prone to apply the epithet 'Sandemanian' somewhat indiscriminately.

mon between Walker and the Glasites, there were also marked differences.⁽¹⁾ If Walker repudiated the name Sandemanian, the Glasites held some of his opinions in detestation.

William Jones confidently affirms that Walker was primarily indebted to the writings of the "Scotch" Baptists for his views of Christian truth and order. He considers it a sign of childish vanity that he "chose to set up for himself- studied to find out excuses for not connecting himself with the Scotch Baptists- and laboured through life to impress upon his Irish friends and associates, the notion that he was indebted to his own researches alone for the principles he advocated, and that all who had gone before him in the same pursuit 'added nothing' to him"⁽²⁾. It is difficult to see how Walker could have identified himself with the "Scotch" Baptists, for his own attitude toward Baptism resembled that of the Quakers- he was not even a Paedobaptist but an Anti-baptist. There may be a grain of truth in Jones's contention, but if Walker was indebted to others for some of his principles, these were not so much the "Scotch" Baptists as the Glasites. As early as 1804-5 Fuller had noticed the Sandemanian complexion of his views. Certainly Walker wished to be regarded as an independent thinker, not a mere copyist. He had his own view-point. "Mr. Walker", says James Haldane, "has a mind too independent to tread in the steps of another. The resemblance proceeds from similarity of principles, not from servility of imitation"⁽³⁾. Nevertheless Walker's writings show traces of the influence of his Glasite

(1) Cf. "The Christian Advocate" (1809-1810), II, 59.

(2) "The Millennial Harbinger", I (1835), 73.

(3) "Strictures on... 'Primitive Christianity'", 11.

predecessors. His frequent allusions to the Glasites show that he was thoroughly conversant with their doctrines and practices, though he is careful to indicate disapproval of certain things.

When Walker first applied himself to the study of apostolic faith and order it would have been strange if he had not examined the works of pioneers for the restoration of "Primitive Christianity" like Glas and Sandeman. Glas's Works were not unknown in Ireland. Walker states that he first became acquainted with Sandeman's writings during his own controversy with Alexander Knox in 1803, from which time Sandeman's memory had been very dear to him, but suggests that some of his conclusions had been reached at an earlier date. He admits that he had derived help from Sandeman, but disclaims primary indebtedness: "That many things in Sandeman have contributed to this better furnishing me for my work; and particularly contributed to it, by his plain exposure of the subtle evasions, by which many have corrupted the Gospel- and by his manly testimony against many writers of the greatest name, whose sentiments, though widely diffused through the religious world, were almost entirely unknown to me, until I found them laid open in Sandeman - this I freely and thankfully acknowledge. Except in this, he added nothing to me- for even the scriptural view, which he gives of the meaning of the word Faith... was nothing new to me; but what I had learned from scripture"⁽³⁾. Elsewhere he writes: "From the

(1) An Index to the first edition of Glas's Works was published in Dublin in 1766.

(2) "Essays", etc., I, 242.

(3) Ibid., II, 162.

name of Sandemanianism, considered as a name of Christian reproach, I am far from anxious to vindicate myself and others", but adds that he attributes no weight to the authority of Sandeman except in so far as he "writes agreeably to the oracles of truth". He gladly avows that a closer examination of Sandeman's "Letters on Theron and Aspasio" has produced the conviction that, as a statement of the apostolic Gospel, it is a work of outstanding merit, though it must not be assumed that he agrees with all that it contains. (1)

(2)
Walker was a pronounced Calvinist whose theology was grounded in the doctrine of the Divine Sovereignty: (3)

"The essential character of the Gospel is that of glad tidings of salvation to sinners- wholly lost- who have destroyed themselves;- of a great salvation, of which the one author is that God against whom they have sinned;- glad tidings of eternal life, as the free gift of God in Christ Jesus to the chief of sinners who believes the joyful record; and that faith itself his gift, who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, and hath mercy on whom he will have mercy".

This definition of the Gospel is repeated, with slight variation of expression, in his treatises and private letters. This doctrine, he says, which both reveals the glory of God and confounds human pride and righteousness, stands opposed to every thought and working of the natural mind, and consequently meets with popular disfavour. (4)
Emphatically he insists upon the unmerited grace of God as the sole ground of man's salvation. So anxious was he to refute the idea of human merit having any part in the justification of the sinner, that he used language which laid him open to the charge of Antinomianism and of denying the Holy Spirit's influence in the

(1) 'Letters on Primitive Christianity', in "Essays", etc., II, 407. Cf. 'A Sufficient Reply to Mr. Haldane', *ibid.*, I, 471.

(2) He himself disliked the appellation.

(3) "Essays", etc., I, 52. (4) *Ibid.*, I, 225.

sanctification of believers. In his "Expostulatory Address" to the Methodists" (1802), he declared: "According to Scripture, I am not warranted to consider it any part of the work of grace to mend our fallen nature. That nature is as bad, as wholly bad in a believer as in an unbeliever; as bad in the most established believer as in the weakest; as bad in Paul the apostle, just finishing his course, and ready to receive the crown of righteousness, as in Saul of Tarsus, a blasphemer and a persecutor of the Church of God"⁽¹⁾. Writing to James Haldane nearly twenty years afterwards he reaffirms this position, quoting his own words to the Methodists.⁽²⁾ Of himself he says: "I have to acknowledge that my own heart is at this day, and I am persuaded will continue to the last, one mass of antinomianism and pharisaism in combination: - while it would prompt me to make even that abasing acknowledgment with light indifference, or from high-minded vanity. In short, it is essentially opposed to the whole revelation of the only true God, in all its parts, and in all its bearings. I have to confess this continually before God; while I have to bless Him for that glorious revelation of his name, which leaves such a wicked creature no legitimate motive for the vain attempt to conceal it before Him, or in any degree to cover my sin"⁽³⁾.

According to Walker, salvation is the work of God in Christ appropriated by faith alone, which faith is the gift of God. His view of the nature of saving faith is essentially that of the Glasites. Faith is belief of the testimony- what the Word

(1) "Essays", etc., I, 13.
(3) Ibid., I, 435.

(2) *ibid.*, I, 440-441.

of God reveals. "That divine declaration- 'whosoever believeth shall be saved'- never was designed to set us on the search for something good in us, under the name of faith, in order to warrant our confidence; and when rightly understood, has no tendency to lead the believer to the contemplation of any such thing. It was designed to exhibit the salvation which is of God, to the exclusion of all conditions and qualifications in the sinful objects of it; and to bring it in all its fulness to the guiltiest and most un-⁽¹⁾godly, who credits the divine report". Faith is not an act of the mind, but a conviction produced on the mind by the evidence which the report seems to carry with it. In his controversy with James Haldane, who had said that the Glasites made an unmeaning distinction between being justified by believing the truth and justifi-⁽²⁾cation by the truth believed, Walker supports the Glasites, maintaining that a man is "justified by that of which the truth testi-⁽³⁾fies": "The faith spoken of in scripture as connected with salvation, is neither more nor less than- the belief of the testimony⁽⁴⁾there declared concerning the Son of God". But while the testimony of the Gospel is so simple as to be understood by any intelligent person, the conviction that it is true "is at all times the exclusive work of that only living God, whose testimony it is, and the sword of whose spirit is his own word"⁽⁵⁾.

In one important doctrine Walker differed from the Glasites- the question of Assurance. Whereas the latter held that the Gospel provides the individual believer with no assurance of ac-

(1) "Essays", etc., I, 364.

(2) "Strictures" etc., 73.

(3) "Essays", I, 452.

(4) Ibid., I, 454-455. (5) Ibid., I, 455.

ceptance with God- that personal salvation must remain only a probability which may be strengthened by the appearance of the fruits of righteousness, Walker affirmed that full assurance is derived immediately from the Gospel testimony which produces "peace and joy in believing". Belief of the truth of the Gospel affords the sinner perfect confidence toward God. Such assurance is in no way dependent upon the fruits of righteousness, nor can it be increased by them. Walker considered it Sandeman's great error that he drew a distinction between the assurance of hope and the assurance of ⁽¹⁾faith, and describes as "that deadly part of Sandemanian doctrine" the view "that a believer walks in doubt whether he is a child of God or a child of the devil, till he observes evidences in himself, that satisfy him he is a true ⁽²⁾believer". Walker asserts that such teaching subverts the truth of the Gospel for which Sandeman so ably contended. To Haldane's strictures he replied that all a believer's genuine comfort and confidence of hope towards God was "derived- from first to last- immediately and exclusively from the bare report of the glorious gospel", and that such a position he hopes "through the divine ⁽³⁾mercy to be kept adhering to until I die".

Like the Glasites John Walker and his followers aimed at the restoration of Primitive Christianity from which the religious world as a whole had departed. Though he claimed to have reached his conclusions by independent study of the Scriptures, Walker commended the Glasites "as having juster views than most others,

(1) "Essays", etc., II, 418.

(2) Ibid., II, 274. Cf. 293.

(3) Ibid., I, 498.

of the principles of church fellowship"- "I refer particularly", he adds, "to their profession of holding sacred all the institutions delivered to the first churches, in opposition to the ungodly liberality which, in most other societies, tolerates disobedience to them"⁽¹⁾. He holds that a Christian church is a body of believers united in obedience to the word of Christ- "a body that stands unconnected with, and separate from, all other religious societies different from itself, and thus exhibits that separation from the world, which results from belief of the truth- from being one in Christ Jesus"- a body which obeys the precepts of the Word as well as receives its doctrines.⁽²⁾ "Forbearance", in the commonly-accepted sense of liberality and toleration in matters of difference, he regards as a compromise of the truth and therefore antichristian. No human authority can set aside any scriptural command. Any body of believers, regarding itself as a true church of Christ, will not hesitate to assert its claim- indeed, "any who do not claim the character certainly do not possess it". Any church which "shrinks from avowing itself the only scriptural church in a place" thereby proves itself an unscriptural society.⁽³⁾ In maintaining "marked separation"⁽⁴⁾ Walker cites the similar practice of the Glasites, but he himself was even more exclusive than either Glas or Sandeman.

The Walkerites endeavoured to conform their worship and discipline to apostolic precedent. A succinct outline of their practice is given by Walker in his "Brief Account"⁽⁵⁾:

"They come together on the first day of the week, the memorial day of Christ's resurrection, to shew forth his death- the one

(1) "Essays", II, 340.
(4) Ibid., II, 239.

(2) Ibid., II, 177. (3) Ibid., II, 257.
(5) Ibid., I, 559-560. Cf. I, 265-270.

ground of their hope- by taking bread and wine, as the symbols of his body broken and his blood shed for the remission of sins. In their assembly (which is always open to public observation) they join together in the various exercises of praise and prayer,- in reading the scriptures,- in exhorting and admonishing one another as brethren, according to their several gifts and ability,- in contributing to the necessities of the poor,- and in expressing their fraternal affection by saluting each other with an holy kiss. In the same assembly they attend, as occasion requires, to the discipline appointed by the apostles in the first churches, for removing any evil which may appear in the body;- in the first place, by the reproof and admonition of the word addressed to the offending brother; and ultimately- if that fail to bring him to repentance- by cutting him off from their fellowship".

(1)

Walker defends the "kiss of charity" as a divine ordinance, and insists upon the duty of holding personal property at the service of the church for the needs of the poor.

(2)

In the above-mentioned practices the Irish Separatists resembled the Glasites, but in other matters they differed from them. They did not consider that the "feast of charity" was of permanent obligation. But the most important difference related to the eldership. While admitting that elders had a place in a Christian church, the Walkerites did not regard them as indispensable to the constitution of a church and the observance of divine ordinances, including the Lord's Supper. Walker strongly disapproved of the Glasite doctrine that there could be no church apart from elders: "We conceive that they (the Glasites) have retained much of the leaven of clerical domination under the name of elders; and that, in making the presence of two Elders necessary for authorizing believers to act together as a church of Christ, they err radically in the constitution of a church and the nature

(1) "Essays", II, 204, 212, 272, 428, 500. (2) Ibid., I, 559.
(3) Ibid., I, 243.

(1)
of the Elder's office". Churches existed before elders who were appointed not to exercise authority over the brethren but to serve their needs.

Walker has been described as "the Robert Sandeman of
(2)
the present (19th) century". This is true, perhaps, in senses other than the writer specially had in mind. Walker's writings are characterised by dogmatism, intolerance, and bitterness similar to what may be found in the works of Sandeman. His system presents a curious compound of elements drawn from Sandemanianism, Antinomianism, and Quakerism, but it is set forth with all the skill of a master-logician and a born controversialist. "Theology in his hands", it has been said, "became a mere arena of dry metaphysics, in which the conflict was for the forms of truth, and not for its spirit; for the accuracy of an intellectual perception, rather than for the transforming virtue which guarantees
(3)
the divinity of the truth".

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- (1) "Essays", I, 243. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 239, 339, I, 342 ff.
(2) "The Christian Advocate and Scotch Baptist Repository", II (1850), 149.
(3) "The Eclectic Review", N.S. IV (1838), 521.

SECTION 6 : THE "DISCIPLES"

The "Restoration Movement", as it is generally called, from which has arisen the large and influential denomination known in America as the "Disciples",⁽¹⁾ had its beginnings towards the end of the Eighteenth Century. It represented "a confluence of six streams of Christian action"⁽²⁾ which coalesced in the thirties of last century. We may not here attempt to trace the origins of the various contributing groups, but it may be remarked that they were due to the peculiar conditions, social, cultural, and religious, which characterised American frontier life during the pioneering days when civilisation was pushing westward. The Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, endeavoured to provide for the religious needs of the pioneers, to cope with the evils common in a society without any organised system of law, and to carry the Gospel of Christ to the distant outposts. In such circumstances it is scarcely surprising that earnest Christian people were drawn together in a common effort to extend the Kingdom of God, or that they came to lay little stress upon denominational differences. Their primary concern was the proclamation of the Gospel, not the perpetuation of sectarian rivalries. When ecclesiastical authority attempted to interfere with their methods they severed the ties which hampered them, and took their stand upon the New Testament as a sufficient standard of faith and order.

(1) In Britain and elsewhere the name used is "Churches of Christ". "The Movement has perhaps had the most rapid growth of any movement in the history of the Church, and at the present time its growth shows no sign of abatement".- W.Robinson, "The Christian Quarterly", II (1935), 74. Today it is represented in no fewer than 35 countries, with a membership of about two millions.

(2) Dean E.Walker, "Adventuring for Christian Unity", 17.

They were content to regard themselves as Christian disciples and brethren. Thus these small movements which arose here and there along the American frontier prepared the way for the larger Movement which has always had as its main principles the restoration of New Testament Christianity and the promotion of Christian unity.

Foremost among the leaders of the "Restoration Movement" were Thomas and Alexander Campbell - father and son - who, more than other leaders shaped the development and thought of the Disciples. Thomas Campbell was a Presbyterian minister, pastor of an Anti-burgher Congregation at Ahorey, Co. Armagh, in the north of Ireland. At Richhill, a few miles distant, there was an Independent church of Haldaneite sentiments. With this church and its pastor Thomas Campbell was on friendly terms. Occasionally he and his son Alexander, then a mere youth, attended special services at Richhill where they heard distinguished preachers, including Rowland Hill, James Haldane, and John Walker of Dublin.⁽¹⁾ This association with the Independents cannot have passed without the Campbells learning something of their doctrinal and ecclesiastical opinions. Dr. Kellems remarks that it is impossible to say how far they were influenced by the Richhill friends, and that there is no evidence to prove that they had made a study of the Sandemanian doctrine of faith with which later "they were assuredly in partial accord". He inclines to think that when father and son migrated to America, their outlook both theological and ecclesiastical was substantially Presbyterian.⁽²⁾ Be this as it may, there is

(1) The Campbells are known to have discussed religious questions with John Walker on one occasion.

(2) J.R. Kellems, "Alexander Campbell and the Disciples", 20.

good reason to believe that already a reaction against a rigid Presbyterian system had taken place in both their minds.

Thomas Campbell left Ireland for America in 1807⁽¹⁾. On his arrival he was welcomed by the Anti-burgher Synod then meeting in Philadelphia, and shortly afterwards settled as pastor of a congregation in Washington County, Pennsylvania. It was not long, however, before his catholic sympathies brought him into trouble with his Presbytery which censured him for admitting Presbyterians other than Seceders to the Lord's Table. Campbell appealed to the Associate Synod which annulled the sentence but expressed disapproval of his general attitude toward the standards of the Secession Church. Feeling himself out of harmony with the authorities of his denomination he reluctantly decided to withdraw from the Synod, though at the time he had no intention of seceding from the Church. He continued to preach, and gathered around him a number of supporters who, while retaining their denominational connections, desired to form themselves into a religious society which had as its cardinal principle, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent"⁽²⁾. In August 1809 there was formed "The Christian Association of Washington". In explanation and justification of this step Thomas Campbell drew up his famous "Declaration and Address"⁽³⁾ in which the object of the Association is stated- "to restore unity, peace, and purity to the whole Church of God", which restoration is to be effected by obedience to the revealed will of Christ and

(1) His wife and family followed at a later date.
(2) W.E. Garrison, "Religion Follows the Frontier", 77.
(3) I have seen a "proof copy" in the library of Overdale College, Birmingham. "The Declaration" is reprinted as an Appendix to Peter Ainslie's "The Message of the Disciples", 145-210.

the observance of the divine ordinances as exemplified in the
(1)
practice of the primitive Church of the New Testament. This
Declaration was not intended as a formulated creed but as a re-
ligious manifesto. Professor Walker describes it as "not a
(2)
puritan scheme, but a catholic programme". The Declaration, how-
ever, embodies the principles which determined the history of
the Disciple Movement, and its composition by Thomas Campbell
entitles him to be regarded as the initiator of the Restoration
Movement which was developed by his son Alexander. "Its ground
principles", says Kellems, "were all thought out by him, and the
work well under way, before his distinguished son left Scotland's
shores to take his part in it... The father created the movement;
(3)
the son made it to live".

It was while the sheets of the "Declaration and Address"
were passing through the press that Alexander Campbell arrived in
America. He himself had been unconsciously prepared for his
future work. A year's residence in Glasgow, where he studied at
the University, had brought him into touch with religious leaders
who owed something to the influence of John Glas, viz., the
brothers Haldane, Greville Ewing, David Dale, Archibald M'Lean.
Ewing in particular befriended the young Irish student, and exer-
cised a formative influence upon his mind. Dr. Richardson states
that it was from the Haldaneite movement that Campbell "received
(4)
his first impulse as a religious reformer". The Independent in-
fluences were sufficiently strong to shake his confidence in the

(1) Garrison, op. cit., 88-93. (2) "The Christian Wrly.", II, 6.
(3) Kellems, op. cit., 8-9.
(4) R. Richardson, "Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, I, 149.

divine right of Presbyterianism and induce him to sever his connection with the Secession Church in Glasgow, On rejoining his father it was a pleasant surprise to both when they discovered that independently they had reached similar conclusions on religious questions. Alexander approved of the principles enunciated in his father's "Declaration", and threw himself wholeheartedly into the service of the new Association founded upon it. He himself says, "My faith in creeds and confessions of human device was considerably shaken while in Scotland, and I commenced my career in this country (America) under the conviction that nothing that was not as old as the New Testament should be made an article of faith, a rule of conduct, or a term of communion among Christians"⁽¹⁾. This "grand" and "emancipating" principle, he adds, became the "pole-star" which guided all his future steps both as a disciple and a reformer.

From this time events moved rapidly. In 1810 the refusal of the Pittsburgh Synod to admit Thomas Campbell compelled him and his friends to re-consider their ecclesiastical position. In 1811 it was decided to form themselves into a separate church founded upon the principles embodied in the "Declaration" of 1809. Accordingly the Christian Association was re-organised as a church at Brush Run. Thomas Campbell was chosen as Elder and Alexander licensed as a preacher. Arrangements were made for the weekly observance of the Lord's Supper. "This step", says Dr. Garrison, involved the complete acceptance of the principle of independency

(1) "The Christian Baptist" (One vol. ed.), 92.

(1)
in church government". On January 1st 1812 Alexander was ordained to the pastoral office- an event which marked a further departure from Classical Presbyterianism. Shortly afterwards, Believer's Baptism was adopted as of Scriptural authority. The Campbells along with others were immersed on their public confession of faith in the Lordship of Christ. The following year (1813) the Brush Run church was admitted to the Redstone Baptist Association. It was not long, however, before Alexander Campbell (now the recognised leader of the Restoration Movement) and his friends discovered that even among the Baptists they were not delivered from denominational trammels. A sermon preached by Campbell before the Redstone Association in 1816, in which he maintained that the Christian Church was not subject to the Old Testament law, met with much disapproval from regular Baptists who began to regard him with suspicion as a heretical innovator. Ultimately Campbell transferred his membership to the more liberal-minded Mahoning Association. About the same time (1823) he commenced the publication of "The Christian Baptist" in which he enunciated his views and advocated "the restoration of the ancient order of things". His reputation as a preacher, theologian, and debater, was gradually growing. Soon he found many sympathisers, including Walter Scott and Barton W. Stone, both destined to become his colleagues in the development of the Disciple movement. In 1830 the Mahoning Association dissolved its constitution and repudiated any jurisdiction over local churches. Campbell's views

(1) Garrison, "Religion Follows the Frontier", 101.

were attacked by some of the Baptist leaders. It became increasingly clear that if the movement was to achieve its ends it must have liberty of action. Campbell and his associates were convinced that reform within the Baptist fellowship was hopeless and that all attempts to secure it were bound to encounter determined opposition. Already many Baptists refused fellowship with them. The final break with the Baptists came in 1832. "All the world must see", wrote Campbell, "that we are forced into a separate communion". The outcome was the formation of the new body which assumed the simple designation "Disciples of Christ".

To what extent were Campbell and the Disciples indebted to Glas and those who either wholly or partially shared his theological and ecclesiastical opinions? This question has been warmly debated, both in Campbell's own day and in more recent times. Some of his early critics openly charged him with Sandemanianism, asserting that he owed his main principles to the Glasites, the "Scotch" Baptists, and the Haldaneites. Robert B. Semple, his Baptist critic, wrote to him in 1825 : "So far as I can judge by your writings and preaching, you are substantially a Sandemanian or Haldanian. I know you differ from them in some points, but in substance you occupy their ground"⁽¹⁾. A similar charge was made more than sixty years later by another Baptist controversialist, Dr. W. H. Whittsitt, who declared that "the Disciples of Christ, commonly called Campbellites... are an off-shoot of the Sandemanian sect in Scotland"⁽²⁾. William Jones strongly maintained that the

(1) "The Christian Baptist", 227.

(2) "The Origin of the Disciples of Christ" (1888).

new movement in America was influenced by the earlier "Scotch" Baptist movement in Scotland. In one of his letters to Campbell, written in 1835, he speaks of "the Scotch Baptist churches, out of which yours in America took their origin, as I think you will not deny"⁽¹⁾.

Campbell himself repudiated the imputation that he was a follower of Glas, Sandeman, M'Lean, or Haldane, or that the Restoration Movement was directly indebted to the movements with which their names were connected. In his first reply to Semple he said that others also, with little knowledge of the writings of Sandeman and Haldane, had made similar charges against himself.⁽²⁾ He had not read all the works of these writers, but had read more than he approved. In a later letter to Semple he emphatically states, "To call me a Sandemanian, a Haldanian, a Glasite, an Arian, or a Unitarian, and to tell the world that the Sandemanians, Haldanians, &c., &c., have done so and so, and have been refuted by such a person, is too cheap a method of maintaining human traditions, and too weak to oppose reason and revelation... I do most unequivocally and sincerely renounce each and every one of these systems. He that imputes any of these systems to me, and ranks me among the supporters of them, reproaches me"⁽³⁾.

Campbell's critics certainly went too far in pronouncing him a disciple of Glas, Sandeman, M'Lean, and Haldane, and in describing his movement as an "off-shoot of the Sandemanian sect". This charge has been rebutted not only by a Disciple leader like

(1) "The Millennial Harbinger" (ed. Jones), I, 1835, 74.
(2) "The Christian Baptist", 227. (3) Ibid., 399.

G.W.Longan, but also by the eminent Baptist acholar, Professor H.C.Vedder. Longan rightly maintains that the Disciples were⁽¹⁾ never connected with the Sandemanian sect or any branch of it, while Vedder declares that "the utmost that Dr."hittsitt's thesis can mean is, that in spirit, in doctrine and in church order the Disciples have drawn more largely from the Sandemanians than from⁽²⁾ any other body of Christians".

Campbell did not deny that he was in some measure indebted to previous advocates of a return to apostolic teaching and order. He claimed to be well acquainted with the controversy which followed Glas's assertion that "Christ's kingdom is not of this world"⁽³⁾, and frankly acknowledged himself a debtor to Glas, Sandeman, M'Lean, as well as other reformers early and late. To William Jones he said, with a touch of humour, that there was a sense in which he was indebted to someone for every idea on every subject, and adds "I may, therefore, indirectly be indebted to Archibald M'Lean, for example, much more than I am aware"⁽⁴⁾. How much the Reformation Movement "is indebted to the labours of the revered fathers of the Scotch Baptist Churches", he is unable to say, but he proceeds to remark that M'Lean and the Edinburgh school had themselves "drawn largely and liberally" from Robert Ferrier, James Smith, and John Glas. "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs, rejected by the Synod of Angus and Mearns, 1728, I regard as the foundation of the Edinburgh reform school; and with all the developments and prominent incidents in the history of that

(1) "The Origins of the Disciples of Christ", 26.

(2) "The Baptist Qrly. Rev." (American), July 1888, quoted by

(3) "The Millenial Harbinger", I, 341.

(Longan.

(4) Ibid., I, 340.

controversy, I made myself fully acquainted before I commenced my career in the work of reformation"⁽¹⁾. But, he concludes, after all due acknowledgments have been made, he has no hesitation in saying that in the new movement there may "be found views of the Christian Institutions wholly new as far as the works of all the schools to which I have alluded are concerned"⁽²⁾.

Notwithstanding Campbell's tributes and acknowledgments to previous reformers, readers of his letter to Jones are left with the impression that he seeks to minimise his indebtedness and vindicate his own claim to originality. We may venture to suggest, however, that Campbell was more indebted to his predecessors than he himself was aware. Had it not been for his early contacts with Independents both in Ireland and in Scotland, it is questionable if he would have removed far from the standards and practices of orthodox Presbyterianism. While yet a youth in Ireland his association, casual as it was, with his Independent neighbours and their friends made him cognisant of a point of view other than the Presbyterian, and, as already observed, during the year spent in Glasgow his mind was seriously influenced by Greville Ewing, James Haldane, and others. Further, as he himself admits, he had made himself conversant with the history and principles of the Glasite and kindred bodies before he began his work as an advocate of return to primitive teaching and order.⁽³⁾ We do not contend that Campbell was a conscious imitator of Glas, Sandeman, M'Lean, or Haldane, but that the movements initiated by these leaders material-

(1) "The Millennial Harbinger", I, 341. (2) Ibid., I, 344.
(3) Ibid., I, 341.

ly helped to mould his own thought and determine to some extent the characteristics of the Restoration movement in America.

Longan maintains that if Sandeman or M'Lean has any claim to be regarded as the "real leader to whom our divine movement owes its origin", it is simply due to "priority of discovery", and nothing

more.⁽¹⁾ Apart from this priority of discovery by others, would Campbell have reached the same position and discovered for himself the main principles which he afterwards taught? Possibly he might have done so, but the fact remains that his attention was first attracted to them by the discoveries of earlier seekers after truth. He says that he had been taught to take nothing on trust,⁽²⁾ but to think for himself. Without doubt he was a man of independent judgment, unwilling to accept any teaching unless he was convinced of its truth. But when he found such teaching warranted by Scripture he had no hesitation in taking his stand beside others as a defender of the truth. With certain aspects of the teaching and practice of Glas, Sandeman, M'Lean, and Haldane, he disagreed, but in their main principles he was at one with them.

It remains to indicate some of the positions, doctrinal and ecclesiastical, in which Campbell and his followers resemble their fore-runners in the advocacy of New Testament Christianity.

The most important doctrinal resemblance relates to the nature of saving faith. This Campbell defines as the acceptance of the testimony of the New Testament that Jesus is both Lord and Christ. "Faith is only the belief of testimony, or confidence

(1) "The Origins of the Disciples of Christ", 32.

(2) "The Millennial Harbinger" (1835), 340.

that the testimony is true... The measure, quality, and power of faith are always found in the testimony believed. Where testimony⁽¹⁾ begins, faith begins: and where testimony ends, faith ends". This was the position previously contended for by Glas, Sandeman, M'Lean, Haldane, and also by Andrew Fuller who opposed them on other points. "Regarding the nature of faith, as then debated", says Longan, "he (Campbell) agreed with Sandeman, M'Lean, and Fuller, as they confessedly agreed with each other"⁽²⁾. On the further question, whether regeneration preceded or followed faith, Campbell held with Sandeman and M'Lean against Fuller that faith⁽³⁾ came before regeneration. Longan ventures to assert that Campbell's view of the priority of faith "was the most fundamental conception of what may be called his theology"⁽⁴⁾, and that "The question whether regeneration- meaning thereby change of heart- is before faith, or through faith, is the chief theological issue we (the Disciples) make with the denominations of our time"⁽⁵⁾. It may be doubted if such an affirmation would be endorsed by all Disciples, but with qualifications it does represent Campbell's conception of the beginnings of the life of faith. He strongly contended against what he considered a pernicious popular error, viz., "that the nature or power and saving efficacy of faith is not in the truth believed, but in the nature of our faith, or in the manner of believing the truth". There is, he exclaims, no other way of believing a fact than to accept it as true. If it is not so received, it is not believed.⁽⁶⁾

(1) "The Christian System" (English edition), 122.

(2) "The Origins of the Disciples", 67.

(3) "The Millennial Harbinger" (British), XIV (3rd Ser. 1861), 313-318.

(4) Longan, op. cit., 73. (5) Ibid., 76.

(6) "The Christian System", 123.

Campbell considered that, in the controversy aroused by the "Letters on Theron and Aspasio", Sandeman proved himself a giant among dwarfs,⁽¹⁾ but he did not wholly agree with the Sandemanian definition of faith as a bare belief of the Gospel testimony. This seemed too cold and purely intellectual a conception. "I agree with Sandeman in making faith no more than the belief of the truth... But I differ from Sandeman in making this belief the effect of physical influence"⁽²⁾. Campbell could not exclude from his view all the holy dispositions which accompany faith. Indeed, he approached more nearly to the Haldaneite position which added to the belief of the testimony the idea of trust in Christ as Saviour and Lord. He regarded the principle of faith as personal and experiential, not as doctrinal and theoretical. "No man can be saved by the belief of any theory, true or false; no man will be damned for the disbelief of any theory"⁽³⁾. Religion is essentially a personal relationship between the believer and his Lord- a relationship established by faith and perfected in the obedience of love. "Faith in Christ is the effect of belief. Belief is the cause; and trust, confidence, or faith in Christ, the effect... The belief of what Christ says of Himself, terminates in trust, or confidence in him; and as the Christian religion is a personal thing, both as respects subject and object, that faith in Christ which is essential to salvation is not the belief of any doctrine, testimony, or truth, but belief in Christ; trust, or confidence in him as a person not a thing"⁽⁴⁾. Elsewhere he declares, "I would not give a grain of

(1) "The Christian Baptist", 228.

(2) Ibid., 615. Cf. "The Millennial Harbinger", I, 329-330.

(3) "The Millennial Harbinger", II, 21.

(4) "The Christian System", 57.

wheat for any faith that does not purify the heart, work by love
(1)
and overcome the world".

The Disciples, like the Glasites and the Scots Baptists, desired the restoration of primitive Christianity. At the commencement of his career as a reformer Alexander Campbell, under the influence of the earlier schools, inclined to stress matters of order, but in course of time he moved away from any narrow or rigid definition of what constituted apostolic order. Though he believed that the New Testament contained the norm of Christian practice as well as doctrine, he did not consider that restoration necessitated a literal reproduction of every practice found in the early Church. He perceived that over-emphasis on this point tended not only to distract attention from the Church's supreme mission, but also to create discord and division. Campbell's mind was occupied with larger issues- the spirituality of the fellowship, the unity of Christian believers, and the propagation of the Gospel. He realised that the true basis of Christian fellowship was not so much a common creed or order as a common allegiance to Christ. The principle of co-operation should be, "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity". He saw that some of the early Church practices were determined by local custom or temporary expediency. and so were not binding upon the Church for all time. Hence the Disciples have not followed the Glasites in the observance of love-feasts, the kiss of charity, abstinence from eating blood, and other minor details. In certain

(1) "The Christian Baptist", 615.

main particulars, however, such as their conception of the Church as a Divine society of believers, the independence of the local congregation, the observance of weekly Communion, the plurality of⁽¹⁾ elders, the duty of mutual exhortation, they have maintained the Glasite tradition. In three important respects they differ from the Glasites: the practice of Believer's Baptism "for the remission of sins", the duty of evangelisation, and the furtherance of Christian unity. Their order has been summarised by Alexander Campbell as follows: "The immersed brethren are congregated into societies according to their propinquity to each other, and taught to meet every first day of the week in honour and commemoration of the resurrection of Jesus, and to break the loaf which commemorates the death of the Son of God, to read and hear the living oracles, to teach and admonish one another, to unite in all prayer and praise, to contribute to the necessities of saints, and to perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord. Every congregation chooses its own overseers and deacons, who preside over and administer the affairs of the congregations; and every church either from itself or in co-operation with others, sends out as opportunity offers, one or more evangelists, or proclaimers of the word, to preach the word and immerse those who believe, to gather congregations, and to extend the knowledge of salvation where it is necessary, as far as their means extend. But every church regards these evangelists as its servants, and therefore they have no control over any congregation, each congregation being subject to its own choice of presidents or elders whom they have appointed⁽²⁾".

(1) Not insisted on in small churches. "Mill. Harb.", VI, 341.

(2) "The Encyc. of Religious Knowledge", quoted in Gardner's "The Faiths of the World", I, 718-719.

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